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... the best service which I ever rendered in India, or indeed to India, was the establishment, single-handed, of the *Calcutta Review*, which has done far more for Indian literature than anything I have written under my own name. . . . I trust that the impetus thus given to the literary industry of the two Services, may last long after I am in my grave—I am, yours faithfully, J. W. KAYE.

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AND TO BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS IN CALCUTTA.

THE CHRONICLE OF KRISHNAGHUR.

BY REV. J. LONG.

Hitisha Banskvali Charitam. A Chronicle of the Family of Raja Krishna Chandra, of Navadvipa, Bengal. Berlin, 852, pp. 155.

THE Germans are men of wonderful research, whether we consider their labours in the departments of Physiology, Metaphysics, History or Chemistry—but in nothing do we see it more conspicuously than in the fact that, without the aid of pandits, but guided solely by their own philological acumen, they have launched successfully on the sea of Sanskrit literature, and have certainly yielded us from it many articles valuable for history, manners and religion. One German has published *Jagynavalkya's* valuable abridgment of Hindu law, with a German translation; another gives us the *Vrihatkatha*, a series of curious national tales, with a German translation. Another German, Bochtlink, is issuing at the present time, from St. Petersburg, the most elaborate Sanskrit Lexicon that has ever been given to the world. But the Germans are not the only people who, without any special connexion with India, are threatening to leave England behind in Oriental studies. Even Denmark sends us a profound work on Sanskrit roots; and America, with her young blood, is entering on the same field of Oriental research.

The work we undertake to notice is another specimen of German research. The late Sir R. Chambers, Chief Justice in Bengal, had purchased a large number of Sanskrit MSS., which his widow took to England and offered for sale to the British Government, but they declined the offer. The king of Prussia then purchased them, and this is one of them. It contains the Sanskrit text, with an English translation and notes. So little is known of the past history of Bengal, except from Persian sources, that this book is a very acceptable addition to our local histories. It bears about it the air of *vraisemblance*. We have found upon enquiry in the Krishnaghur district, that the native traditions there correspond with it. The history begins its account about the year 1000, with the settlement of Kanauj Brahmans in Bengal; we have the notices of the rise of the Nuddea family, and their connection with the Moslem sovereigns, with glimpses here and there of the relations subsisting between the Hindu Rajas and the Musalman Viceroys.

We have read through the original Sanskrit itself, and here present an analysis of the contents, with occasional notes.

The author begins with stating that he is to celebrate the race of

Bhattanáráyan (the ancestor of the present Nuddea Raja) which is to destroy the rust of the Kali Yug. Adisur, King of Gaur, who had expelled the Buddhists from Bengal, alarmed at the omen of a vulture alighting on his palace, by the advice of a Kanauj Brahman invited five Brahmans from Kanauj to avert the omen by sacrifices, A. D. 999. One of these Brahmans was Bhattanáráyan, the son of the King of Kanauj: the King was disgusted at seeing the Brahmans in leather shoes, and needle-sewed garments, with lips betel-stained—he therefore pretended to be asleep, and they could not see him; the Brahmans on this, by incantation, made a wrestler's stick to send forth buds; the King next day hearing of this, and fastening his clothes round his neck, went to deprecate the wrath of the Brahmans, who forgave him: adding, however, that their wrath could reduce him and his city to ashes. The vulture was sacrificed, and the King built five cities for those Brahmans and their families; and Bhatta, the son of a famous King in Kanauj, having pleased the King, he offered him villages. The other would not take as a present villages filled with cows, gold, iron, sesamum, as being an unsuitable present for a Brahman, but he purchased at a low price villages where his descendants for eleven generations ruled tax-free.

A quarrel took place among Bhatta's sons for sovereignty, and Mahmud of Gizni having just conquered Delhi, they appealed to him: he was not able to decide at once: he then required tribute, only one, however, Vishvanath, paid it, he in consequence was selected as Rájá; after him his sons succeeded to the rule, and after them Kásínáth. But elephants being sent as a present from the King of Tripura to the Emperor Akbar, one of them on the road strayed away, and was killed by Kásínáth; on this the Emperor enraged sends an army to take Kásínáth prisoner and carry him to Jamhagir or Dacca—Dacca was at that time the capital of Bengal. Kásínáth fled to the banks of the Bhagirathi, and at the village Anduliya seeing some fish, and having no money, he pledged his gold-ring to purchase them: sometime after Moslem soldiers coming up and seeing the ring on a fisherwoman, found out who owned it—they took the King prisoner while bathing; after this, the Governor of Dacca on hearing him one day repeating the names of Bhagavan, in a rage had him killed.

Ksáínáth's wife bore a son named Ram, one of whose sons, Durgadas, being one day at Ballabhpur city* to witness the games—the

* Can this be the village of Bhallabhpur on the Bhairab, in the Krishnaghur district? There are still the remains of a wide road which ran from Bhallabhpur to Krishnaghur. Certain it is that the river Bhairab there was formerly almost as wide

attendants of Durgadas seeing a Musalman Governor on his way from Delhi pass there, fled in alarm, but Durgadas shewed such thorough knowledge of the localities, in giving the particulars of the route to Hugly, that he was invited to Hugly, where he studied Persian, and received from Delhi the title of Bhavánanda Majumdar. He built a palace after this at Ballabhpur. At this time there were twelve Bengal Rajas exempt from taxes; the chief among them was Pratápaditiya, wealthy, famous; eleven were compelled by the Emperor's armies to pay tribute, but Pratápaditiya refused; the Governor of Dacca and Hugly informed the Emperor of his oppressions of the zemindars, and of his keeping an army of 100,000 men, armed with leather shields, mallets and arrows, besides mad elephants, and that a young prince Kachu, whose father Pratápaditiya had killed, had to escape for his life to the forest. Akbar on hearing this, with lips swollen from anger, ordered Mán Sing to lead an army against Pratápaditiya. Mán Sing, laying the King's order on his head, marched on, the people of the villages running away as the armies advanced.*—They came to Chapada, on the river banks; here Majumdar met Mán Sing, and taking off his signet ring from his fingers, gave it to Mán Sing as a mark of homage—after this the river was crossed on elephants, horses and boats, by Majumdar's aid. A tempest came on which detained them seven days, but Majumdar, being unable to celebrate the festival of the nuptials of the deities Lakshmi and Goverdhan, gave to Mán Sing's army and bards the provisions which had been accumulated for this festival: after seven days they marched for Pratápaditiya's city, but he fortified himself so strongly in a fort as to repel the enemy, but on the second attack the fort was taken: skirmishes took place between the armies for several days, at last Mán Sing by the advice of Majumdar, made a charge with all his cavalry on Pratápaditiya, who had but few horsemen, he defeated them, took the Raja prisoner and put him into an iron cage to carry him to Delhi; but he died on the way to Benares. Akbar appointed Kachu, whom Pratápaditiya had tried to kill, the Governor of Jessore, while Majumdar was made ruler over fourteen districts, and fixed his

a. the Ganges, and formed probably the route by water from Delhi to Hugly; it is probable that a city might then be on its banks—there are still near the Church Mission House there, the remains of a large temple and of an ancient road which extended to Krishnaghur. The native tradition is that the Rajahs of Krishnaghur had pleasure and kachari houses at Bhallabpur: this is confirmed by the fact of Matiyari, so often mentioned in the Chronicle, being situated also on the Bhairab.

* This with other points in the narrative indicates what oppressions the Moslems exercised on the Hindus, and shews why the Hindus in various places adopted the practice of secluding their women,—though from the *Vrihat Katha* we can see there was much seclusion of women even before the Moslem invasion.

residence in the palace of Ballabhpur, building palaces at Mátyári city and Deoliá village. The village Báhgwan, near Ballabhpur, was the birth-place of Majumdar, and here Mán Sing visited him on his march from Burdwan to Jessore, to put down Pratápaditiya.

After this the Governor of Dacca wishing to get Majumdar's territory, induced him to visit Dacca and imprisoned him there. Majumdar's son, Gopi Mohan, one day bathing at Dacca, saw a number of men with an elephant trying in vain to lift a stone out of the river for the worship of the goddess. Gopi Mohan did it with ease; the fame of this spread to the Governor, who sent for him; he repeated the feat; the Governor then told him to ask any favor he wished; he asked for the release of Majumdar, who had been chained in prison for not paying his tribute; this was granted, and Majumdar returned home.

Majumdar wished to divide his territory among his three sons, but the eldest refused to take a share, went to Delhi, and obtained a new grant. Majumdar died after twenty years' rule: the eldest son soon after died of small-pox: his brother Gopal died, and the cleverest of his three sons, Rághav, was elected Raja. He erected in Reui, * a delightful palace, with two palaces towering like mountains to the east and west of it, and to the south a zenana surrounded with palaces: here he spent his time very pleasantly. After a time the Governor of *Satsaika* † came to visit him, and remarked, "how can you live in your palace happily, you are an exile, while your zenana is so distant, that you cannot hear the cries of children and tinkling of ornaments?" The Raja in consequence of this remark had the zenana pulled down, and another one built near his palace; in Madarna village also he built another palace; he was famous also for his almanacs and mystic songs.

At this time he dug a large tank in Krishnaghur, devoting 300,000 silver pieces to its dedication, and had an image of Siva placed in it. Brahmans from Anga, Banga, Maghad

* Reui is Krishnaghur, and the palace is still standing, though in ruins; the palace is the residence of the Raja. The traditions in Krishnaghur, state, that Raghu, grandfather of Krishna Chandra, built it about 210 years ago, at a cost of 3,36,000 Rupees. The palace is now in a state of dilapidation, but bearing the traces of ancient greatness, and occupies about forty bigahs of ground.

† This must, we think, be Satgan, as the Governor is stated to have been on very friendly terms with him, which implies neighbourhood, and we have no account of any city with a name similar to this. Satgan was then getting into "the sere and yellow leaf." The capricious Hughly was abandoning it, as it may one day Calcutta, while the Portuguese were drawing off its trade to Hughly. Gladwin states "Satgang was formerly a very considerable city, and the residence of the Faujdar and other officers of the Government: but having been very much impaired by the encroachments of the river, they removed to Hughly, which soon became a very flourishing city."

Kalīṅga and Kasi were invited ; oceans of ghi, milk and honey were drunk, and even spirituous liquors. After this Rāghav, for his punctuality in paying the tribute, received from the Emperor of Delhi a present of elephants ; he erected at Nuddea a temple to Gonesh, and had half finished another to Siva, when he died, having ruled for fifty-one years.

Rudra Ray his son succeeded him. The Emperor of Delhi was so pleased with him, that he gave him the title of Maharaja, and allowed him to have a tower on the top of his palace. He gave to Reui village the name of Krishnaghur, in honor of Krishna, and because many herdsmen lived there, while he called Madarna village Shrinagar, from the number of lotus plants growing there.

A Moslem General once anchoring in the rains on the river banks near Rudra Ray's seraglio at Krishnaghur, his servants beat the Moslem servants off. A fight ensued, and some were killed ; in consequence the Rajah stopped up the river and made a canal from north to south, connected with the trench that surrounded the palace. The Rajah not having paid tribute to Dacca for six years, he was arrested in Hughly by stratagem, and carried prisoner to Dacca ; while there his servants had a quarrel with a shoe merchant about the price of shoes, in which Rudra Ray interfered and a fight took place ; complaint was made by the shoe merchant to the Governor, but Rudra Ray bribed him with Rs. 100,000 and the case was dismissed. Rudra Ray then bought Rs. 100,000 worth of shoes and distributed them among the people, which brought him such praise, that the Governor released him. He took an architect with him, Alā-bakhashan, to build the palace at Krishnaghur. He erected four palaces east of his own ; at the lower story was a road wide enough for elephants and beasts of burthen to pass ; over it was a story, and at the top a range of rooms variously adorned—there were also an elephants' stable, music hall, a temple of Durga, and a large seraglio. He made a road from Krishnaghur to Santipur, as high as a man, planted with fig trees at regular intervals on both sides.

Rudra Ray was a great devotee to the Brahmans. Once at Dacca the Governor gave him among other presents a drum which he was to put on his shoulder and present to the Governor, but he refused as a Brahman to do so. The Governor yielded to his scruples ; as he did on another occasion, when he would wear a garment with three hems only, the Musalman etiquette requiring him to appear before the Governor with an embroidered garment covering all his person.

One day two Brahmans came to the King to decide a dispute

about a property called *Bhattācharjea*, near *Mātiyāri*, but he found no property was left,—only the name; he then divided that, giving to one the name *Bhatta*, to another that of *Acharjea*!

One of *Rudra Ray*'s sons, *Ram Krishna*, was famous as a great wrestler and great eater. One day sporting in the water he thrust back a thirty-two oared boat which was pulled with great force against him; the sailors were so astonished, as to become petrified with astonishment like painted dolls. He built a hunting seat at *Bhempur*, and once killed a wild buffaloe with a blow of his mace, plucking out as trophies the horns with his hands. Wrestlers came from distant countries to contend with him, but were afraid. A *Faujdar* also came to *Krishnaghur* for the same purpose, and before him he plucked up a mango tree, five years old, by the roots. He went to *Dacca*, where his fame was great for wrestling and eating, but he refused to let the Prime Minister, because he was a *Sudra*, see him eating, even though he stood at a distance clad in a white robe. He mounted a fine horse, but his legs pressed so strong against the animal as to crush the horse's ribs and bones, and he fell dead. *Ram Chandra* rode only horses procured from *Balk* and *Turkistan*. He also pulled down the pillars of a house, and exhibited wonderful powers in eating.

Ram Chandra was not able to converse with pandits, and was disobedient to his father, therefore, at the latter's request, the Emperor of *Delhi* allowed him to nominate a successor. After a time *Rudra Ray* fell ill and goes to *Sukh Sāgar* to view the *Ganges*: he was cured, but he again fell sick and went again to *Sukh Sāgar*. While there he made provisions for his concretionation by presents to *Brahmans*; he was on his death-bed, and his anxiety was relieved by a boat laden with sandal-wood arriving from *Hughly*; then appointing *Rāmjivan*, his younger son his successor, he forsook life and attained absorption, calling on *Ram's* name, having half his body immersed in the stream of the *Bhagirathi*.

From *Sukh Sāgar** they returned to *Krishnaghur*, where a splendid feast was provided for the *Brahmans* and princes of *Anga*, *Banga*, *Magadh*, *Saurāshtra*, *Kāshi*, *Kānchi*, where in a camp a koss in extent, they feasted ten days. On the eleventh took place the *Dān Sāgar*, or present of vessels of gold, silver and

* *Sukh Sāgar* was of note in *Warren Hastings'* time, who had a country seat there, to which he often retired from the turmoils and contentions of *Calcutta* society: about 1760 there was a *Silk* factory there. Very probably the name *Sukh Sāgar*, or the *Ocean of Bliss*, was applied to it, because it was another *Sāgar* for the *Rajahs* of *Kishnagur* and *Jessore*, where they could bathe in the *Ganges* and enjoy the quiet of a river villa. It was situated in the vicinity of *Hughly*, which was, two centuries ago, a place of great trade and political importance.

brass, of elephants and horses : 100,000 persons were fed. Before the assembled pandits Ram Chandra inquired how he was to be supported. He demanded Mátiyári village, the tank *Poyaldelu*, four horses and Rs. 10,000 annually for himself—his brother evaded making a reply. On this Ram Chandra mounted horse and rode to Hughly, laid the case before the Faujdar, who, struck with his heroism, represented the matter to the Dacca Governor, who, hereupon, ordered Ram Chandra to assume the rule, but as Rámjivan paid the taxes regularly, the matter was overlooked, though fights took place between the brothers for three years. Rámjivan getting into arrears, a Commissioner, Radhá Ballabh Ray, was sent to make enquiry ; he took Rámjivan prisoner, who had previously sent Ram Chandra a prisoner to Dacca, and installed in his stead his younger brother Rám Krishna.

At this time Krishnaram, Rajah of Burdwan, plundered the capital of Sobha Sing, Rajah of Chatua : the latter, boiling with rage, marching along a forest road, crossed over the Damuda and came before Burdwan. The Rajah, not able to defend himself, sent away his son Jagat Ram, dressed in woman's clothes, to Krishnaghur, where he lived concealed at Mátiyári ; to prevent his women falling into Sing's hands, he killed them with his own hand, and then himself fell fighting. His daughter was taken by Sing as a mistress, contrary to the advice of his Ministers. He continued his conquests. Arungzib being engaged at that time in conflict with "the Southern barbarians," the English, sent his grandson Ajim-o-Saha, with an army against Sobha Sing ; they had proceeded as far as Murshidabad, but the Burdwan Rajah's daughter, while Sobha Sing was sleeping with her in a state of helpless intoxication, drew a small sharp knife from her hair and stabbed him mortally in the belly.

Hemat Sing, Sobha Sing's younger brother, succeeded ; he attacked the Rajah of Krishnaghur, who routed his army as if it had been grass roots. After this, while Ajim Shah was encamped at Pálasi, Hemat Sing attacked a part of his army at Cutwa, and his General Neamat Khan, employed an elephant, which, with a sword in its trunk, destroyed numbers of the Moguls : they retreated ; on this Ajim advanced from Palási, and employing jingals (small cannon) against the Sings, they fled. After this Ajim remained to regulate affairs, the Rajas waited on him, some with folded hands, with garments hemless and without ornament, and others in mean attire, afraid of displaying their wealth.

But Ram Krishna came from Krishnaghur with a splendid retinue, which pleased Ajim Shah very much. After this Jafir

Khan was anxious to injure Ram Krishna, but owing to the favor of Ajim Shah he could not. He ruled eleven years in Krishnaghur, but owing a great sum as arrears of tribute, he was allured to Dacca and imprisoned there, where he soon after died of small-pox. He left no son or grandson to succeed, Ramjivan was then taken out of prison and appointed Raja ; he ruled well, being also skilled in song, poetry, and dramatic exhibitions. Raghu Ram his son, a hero, and an excellent archer, soon after was at Murshidabad attending on his father, who, with other Rajas, was imprisoned by Jafir Khan. At this time the Raja of Rajshahi revolted, Raghu Ram was sent with the army, and through his skill in archery saved them ; he got high praise for this and also the release of his father.

In 1710 Raghu Ram's son was born : great joy arose : Rajas came from different directions to the ceremonies. A camp lined with cloth was erected one coss long by half a coss broad—the piles of food were beyond calculation ; Brahmans recited from the Vedas ; philosophers disputed on the Mimanas and Nyaya ; dancing women became slow through their great joy ; sham battles took place. The earth shone with joy.

Raghu Ram succeeded after Ramjivan's death at Murshidabad ; he was confined by Jafir Khan in Murshidabad, but even in jail he gave away land to the Brahmans ; afterwards he was released, and died on the banks of the Bhagirathi. His son Krishna Chandra succeeded in 1728, appointed Raja by the Governor of Murshidabad.

Thus ends our analysis of this work. The Sanskrit style is very plain ; it abounds with anomalies and approaches to Prākṛit. We have in Bengali a Life of Raja Krishna Chandra Ray, with the account of whose birth our chronicle ends ; subsequent to that period we enter on the demesne of European history. But this chronicle leads us back to the misty past, and we shall make some cursory remarks in connection with it : the oldest account we have seen of an historical kind relating to Bengal, is the chronicle of Tripura, part of it written in Bengali four centuries ago,—the oldest specimen of Bengali writing we have extant, for the Life of the Reformer Chaitanya is a century later.

Adisur ruled a short time previous to A. D. 1000, when Gaur was in its prime, "the glory of kingdoms," with its population of two millions, and its walls thirty miles in circumference and sixty-one feet high, now, like Rajmahal, a relic of the past ; the chronicle states that Adisur invited Brahmans from Kanauj, on account of the degeneracy of Bengal Brahmans—the cause of that degeneracy, no doubt, was that they were infected with Buddhist

notions, which at that period were dying out in Bengal, in consequence of brahminical persecution. Adisur, the founder of the Vaidya dynasty was, probably, a new and zealous convert to Hinduism, as his predecessors in Gaur, the Pál Rajahs, were supporters of Buddhism, but the reason given in the Chronicle that the Brahmins were not admitted to the king, because they came in "needle-sewed" garments, does not accord with the statement of Rajah Radhakant Deb who, in his celebrated *Kalpadrūm*, states they were rejected because of their warlike habiliments,—both may be probable—the Brahmins, as the ruins of Sárnáth in Benares shew, used fire and sword to expel their ascetic Buddhist adversaries from their cloistered retreats, and very likely, in opposition to the plain garb of the Buddhist priests, the Brahmins dressed themselves in "silk and satin."

These Kanauj Brahmins, the founders of the Krishnaghur family, fully carried out the spirit of brahmanism; isolation from the people, seeking only the interests of their own class. We have accounts of palaces built by them, and of political movements made,—but no regard to the people: they were great zemindars or Rajahs, and held their titles, though generally hereditary, yet reversible on bad conduct: they were in the condition of feudal lords. The skill in athletic exercises displayed by some of them, and for which they received rewards from the Moslem Governors, was a remnant of their northern origin, and which seems to be to a great extent lost with the modern Rajahs. Where could we meet now with a Bengali Rajah able to pull up a young mango-tree by the roots? Not till they use more animal food, and until gymnastics are made a branch of national education.

The earliest mention we have of Nuddea, is in the time of Rághav Rám, who both erected a magnificent palace at Krishnaghur, and also a statue of Gonesha, and temple of Siva, at Nuddea. This was probably about the commencement of Jehangir's reign. Nuddea had been, for six centuries previous, one of the chief cities of Bengal. We insert here an account of the origin of the Nuddea University, which we met with lately in an old publication, the *Calcutta Monthly Register* for January 1791. We know not what authority the writer has for his statements, but in various ways it coincides with points mentioned in the Sanskrit work.

"The joguy or fakeer Abdehoad, has the glory of being its founder, it is said, upwards of four hundred years ago. The tradition is, that the place being a perfect jungle, or uncultivated forest, Abdehoad retired into it, to lead a life of devotion and abstinence. His residing there, induced two or three

"other persons to build huts there. The place soon began to wear a flourishing aspect ; when it appeared, that this holy man was, in a most distinguished manner, an object of the divine favour. He was inspired with a perfect knowledge of the sciences, without any application or study, and his benevolence induced him to impart to his neighbours the supreme happiness which he derived from the gift. As he described the nature of it to them, they expressed so great a desire to partake of it, that he offered to instruct them in it. The success attending this generous undertaking, was so remarkable, that it is believed to have been preternatural.

"By the time he had read one leaf to them, they comprehended what would have filled ten. They soon read and transcribed all that he had committed to writing, and with the utmost facility, composed new works of their own ; about this time the place began to engage attention.

"Fortunately the Rajah or principal person of the district, was a man of liberal mind, and a friend to religion and learning. His name was Roghow Roy, a Brahman of the sect Gaur. This illustrious person visited the fakeer's school, and became one of his disciples. He afterwards patronized the seminary, and made it a regular and permanent institution. He in a princely manner endowed it with lands, for entertaining masters and students, building houses at the same time for their accommodation. He also bestowed prizes upon certain degrees of proficiency in literature ; for example, he that could explain the Nea Shaster, received from the Rajah a cup filled with gold mohurs, and he that explained any other of the Shasters, received a cup filled with rupees. In short, the Rajah's liberality, and the fakeer's supernatural knowledge, soon rendered Nuddeah the most frequented as well as the most learned university in the East. It has been, and is this day, peculiarly celebrated as a school of philosophy.

"The learned Serowmun, one of the first professors of philosophy at Nuddeah, wrote a system of philosophy, which has continued to be the text book of that school ever since. Fifty-two pundits, of considerable note in the republic of letters, have written each a commentary on Serowmun's treatise of philosophy.

"The pundit Shunkur, one of the present professors, is a descendant from Serowmun, and supports the literary reputation of his own family and of Nuddeah, in a very distinguished manner.

"Other sciences have also been cultivated at Nuddeah, with

"peculiar success, particularly astronomy and astrology; although there is no man there at present very eminent in this department.

"The names of the Nuddeah Rajahs, since the foundation of the university, are as follows: Roghow Roy, Rooddre, Ram Jeemur, Rugguram, Kissen Chund and Sivachund.

"The present Rajah's son is about twenty-five years of age, and named Issurchund. All these have been remarkably long lived, owing no doubt, in some degree, to the nature of their pursuits, by which they were never exposed to violence or danger. Rooddre, in particular, lived to be upwards of one hundred years of age; and as he inherited his father's taste and liberality, his long reign was the means of establishing and perpetuating the fame of Nuddeah. The family place of residence or palace is at Sivanibass, and the courts of judicature are held at Kishnaghur.

"The grandeur of the foundation of the Nuddeah University is generally acknowledged. It consists of three colleges, Nuddeah, Santipore and Gopulparrah. Each is endowed with lands for maintaining masters in every science; whenever the revenues of these lands prove too scanty for the support of the pundits and their scholars, the Rajah's treasury supplies the deficiency; for the masters have not only stated salaries from the Rajah for their own support, but also an additional allowance for every pupil they entertain. And these resources are so ample, and so well administered, that in the College of Nuddeah alone, there are at present about eleven hundred students and one hundred and fifty masters. These numbers, it is true, fall very short of those in former days. In Rajah Rooddre's time there were at Nuddeah, no less than four thousand students, and masters in proportion. Still, however, it must be acknowledged, that the seminary is respectable, and must be supported by no inconsiderable talents and learning.

"Shunkur pundit is the head of the College of Nuddeah, and allowed to be the first philosopher and scholar in the whole university; his name inspires the youth with the love of virtue, the pundit with the love of learning, and the greatest Rajahs, with its own veneration.

"The students that come from distant parts, are generally of a maturity in years, and proficiency in learning, to qualify them for beginning the study of philosophy, immediately on their admission; but yet they say, that to become a real pundit a man ought to spend twenty years at Nuddeah in close,

"application. Thus in the east, as well as the west, the Fruit of the tree of knowledge, costs the high price of *viginti annorum lucubrationes*.

"Any man that chooses to devote himself to literature, will find a maintenance at Nuddeah from the fixed revenues of the university, and the donations of the Rajah. Men in affluent circumstances, however, live there at their own expense, without burthening the foundation.

"By the pundit's system of education, all valuable works are committed to memory; and to facilitate this, most of their compositions, even their dictionaries, are in metre. But they by no means trust their learning entirely to this repository; on the contrary, those who write treatises or commentaries on learned topics, have at Nuddeah always met with distinguished encouragements and rewards.

"The time of attending the public schools and lectures, is from ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Their method of teaching is this—two of the masters commence a dialogue, or disputation on the particular topic they mean to explain. When a student hears any thing advanced or expressed that he does not perfectly understand, he has the privilege of interrogating the master about it. They give the young men every encouragement to communicate their doubts, by their temper and patience in solving them. It is a professed and established maxim of Nuddeah, that a pundit who lost his temper in explaining any point to a student, let him be ever so dull and void of memory, absolutely forfeits his reputation and is disgraced.

"The Nuddeah Rajahs have made it their frequent practice to attend the disputations. On all public occasions, especially, the Rajah assists and rewards those who distinguish themselves. But instead of cup-fulls of gold and silver, as formerly, all that this prince can now afford to bestow is a loatta and dhoatty, *i. e.*, a brass cup and a pair of drawers. These, however, from the Rajah's own hands are, by no means, considered trivial rewards. No Emperor's chelât communicates a higher pleasure, nor inspires a nobler pride. Nothing can be more characteristic of philosophic simplicity and moderation, than the value which they set upon it. "Is it not," say they, "the dress and furniture which nature requires?"

Jessore is mentioned in the Chronicle in connection with Prâtâpāditiya its ruler, who refused to pay tribute to Akbar, but the Moslem General was aided against a Hindu by another Hindu, Majumdar of Krishnaghur. "Every man for

himself" was evidently the maxim in ancient days as now. From the numerous Moslem families in Jessore settled for a long period, from the magnificent city erected to the south of it by Prátápāditiya, and from the former cultivated state of the Sunderbunds, we infer that Jessore was in Akbar's days a place of much greater importance than of late times—the Bhayrab flowed through it with a mighty stream, forming a communication between the Upper Provinces and the Eastern Districts. The Vernacular Literature Committee have published a Life of Prátápāditiya, which contains various interesting particulars about Jessore.

We have a notice of Burdwan in the *Chronicle*, in connection with a deed equalling that of Lucretia in Roman history. Burdwan seems to have been formerly a place of importance, secured by a fort which stood probably to the west of the church, where also the old palace was situated. It was the wife of a Governor of Burdwan who, on her husband Uriah-like being assassinated in Burdwan, became the Queen of Jehangir, under the name of Nur Jehan, and was a second Elizabeth in India. Shah Jehan remained at Burdwan some time, and there received the refusal from the Portuguese of his request for artillery, which made him afterwards wreak his vengeance on Hugly. It was at Burdwan the English obtained the grant of land on which the city of Calcutta stands, from Arungzib's grandson, who was Governor there, and who ornamented Burdwan city with a palace and mosque. The revolt of Sobha Sing, mentioned in the *Chronicle*, will be ever memorable in this country, as it led to the English getting permission to erect Fort William in Calcutta, and thereby securing for themselves a local habitation and a name. The present Rajah of Burdwan is only an adopted son, the old family was of Khetriya origin; we have some notice of them five centuries ago.

THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

BY A MISSIONARY IN THE CARNATIC.

1. *The Nannul, an Original Tamil Grammar.* By Pavananti.
2. *Grammars of the Common and High Dialect of the Tamil Language,* by the Rev. Constantius Joseph Beschi, Jesuit Missionary in the Kingdom of Madura.
3. *Rudiments of Tamil Grammar,* by Robert Anderson, of the Madras Civil Service. London, 1821.
4. *A Grammar of the Tamil Language,* by the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, Missionary, C. M. S., 1836.
5. *Oriental Manuscripts in the Tamil Language : translated with Annotations.* By William Taylor, Missionary. 2 vols. 1835.
6. *A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages.* By the Rev. J. P. Rottler, D. Ph. Edited by the Rev. W. Taylor.
7. *Translations of the Kural of Tiruvalluvar.* By F. W. Ellis, Esq., and Rev. W. H. Drew.

WE need no apology for introducing our readers to the knowledge of a language, which is emphatically called *Ten Mozhy*, or Southern speech, in opposition to *Vada Mozhy*, or Northern speech, *i. e.*, the Sanskrit. Among the nineteen vernacular languages of India, we think the Tamil has especial claims on the attention of scholars, not only as being a rival of the ancient Sanskrit, but as being rich in indigenous literature, and opening an extensive field for philological research and ethnological science. If the Sanskrit is, as its name imports, a thoroughly finished language,—the Tamil is, as its name signifies, a sweet and harmonious tongue. *Drávida*, or *southern*, is the name by which it is known in Sanskrit books. Colebrooke, in his *Dissertation on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages*, derives the name *Tamil*, which he writes *Tamla*, from *Tamraparna*, the name of the river in Tinnevely. Tamil writers themselves have no such idea ; they confine their speculations on the term to *sweetness* ; and who that knows any thing of its flowing poetry and melodious song, will deny the language this peculiar appellation ?

The language is spoken by a population of more than eight millions, being current throughout South India, from Cape Comorin to Vengadam, a mountain sacred to Vishnu, about 100 miles north of Madras. It is also the language of the eastern and northern parts of Ceylon. It is more or less connected with Canarese, Maleali and other dialects in the Madras Presidency, constituting the speech of more than twenty millions of people.

In an able article, forming an *Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar*, Mr. Francis W. Ellis, whose knowledge of the various spoken dialects of Peninsular India, added to his acquirements as a Sanskrit scholar, constitutes him a great authority, has proved, in opposition to Carey, Wilkins, Colebrooke, and others, that the Tamil is not derived from the Sanskrit, but is an original language. Babington, the translator of *Beschi*, a competent judge on the subject, in his preface to the adventures of *Gooroo Paramartan*, says :—

“The Tamil is not derived from any language at present in existence, and is either itself the parent of the Telugu, Malealam and Canarese languages; or, what is more probable, has its origin in common with these in some ancient tongue, which is now lost, or only partially preserved in its offspring. In its more primitive words, such as the names of natural objects, the verbs expressive of physical action or passion, the numerals, &c., it is quite unconnected with the Sanskrit, and what it thence so largely borrowed, when the Tamils, by intercourse with the more enlightened people of the North, began to emerge from barbarity, has reference to the expression of moral sentiments and abstract metaphysical notions, and is chiefly to be found in the colloquial idiom. In this remarkable circumstance, and also in the construction of its alphabet, the Tamil differs much from the other languages of the South, which are found to admit the Sanskrit more largely in literary and poetical compositions than in the ordinary dialect of conversation, and which adopt the arrangement of the Sanskrit alphabet with scarcely any variation. The higher dialect of the Tamil, on the contrary, is almost entirely free from Sanskrit words and idioms, and the language retains an alphabet which tradition affirms to have heretofore consisted of but sixteen letters, and which, so far from resembling the very perfect alphabet of the Sanskrit, wants nearly half its characters, and has several letters of peculiar powers. Since, therefore, as might have been expected from its geographical situation, the Tamil language has stronger traces of originality than any of the cognate dialects of Southern India, it is, with propriety, taken first in the order of study, and he who adds a knowledge of this southern tongue to the more polished language of the north, has more than half accomplished the acquisition of all the Hindu languages of India.”

Taking the *Nannul* for our guide, we shall endeavour, in the

first place, to set forth the principles and peculiarities of the language, before we draw any conclusion regarding its connection and origin.

The Tamil has two dialects, namely, the high, and the low. The classical or learned dialect is called *Shen Tamil* (*Shen* or *Sem* meaning perfection.) The vulgar or colloquial dialect is called *Kodum Tamil* (*Kodum* meaning rude.) The *Nannul* specifies three kinds of Tamil, viz., the *Iyal*, *Isai*, and *Núdaka Tamil*, i.e., the Prose, Poetic, and Dramatic Tamil. The last contains a mixture of both prose and poetry, as well as of the high and low dialects.

The *Shen Tamil* or high dialect is remarkable for its conciseness and copiousness. It is the pliant and glowing language of the Tamil poets. The *Kodum Tamil* is the spoken language of the people. All business is transacted in this dialect. All stories and prose translations are written in it; while the one is for ornament, the other is for use. We may be familiar with the one without comprehending the other. It strikes us that the same analogy exists between these dialects as between the Sanskrit and the Prakrit. The high dialect, however, must have been the more ancient, for the hill tribes, supposed to be the aborigines, use more of the high than the low Tamil words. The Tamil scholars of the present day, not natives, (for they would adhere to what is fixed and ancient), combine both the dialects in their writings and translations.

The Tamil alphabet consists of thirty letters, viz., twelve vowels, and eighteen consonants. They may be represented in Roman characters thus :—

Vowels.	{	Short	a	i	u	e	o	
		Long	á	í	ú	é	ó	
		Diphthongs	ai		av			
Consonants.	{	Hard	k	ch(s)	d	th	p	r
		Soft	n	n̄	n	n	m	n̄
		Medial	y	r	l	v	zh	l

Comparing this with the Sanskrit alphabet, it will be perceived that the Tamil rejects all aspirates. The vowels e o, and the consonants zh r, n, and l* are peculiar to it: words in which these letters occur are exclusively Tamil, and they have no letters in the Sanskrit to express them. The Tamil retains the क, च, ट, त, and ष, of the Sanskrit, and rejects

* l This letter, however, occurs in Sanskrit Vedic words, and is given in Wilson, अ tr.

all the aspirates and corresponding soft consonants, as well as all the sibilants. The second consonant *ch* is made to express *s* also. The Sanskrit sibilants and the aspirate *ḥ*, are introduced into some books in the *Grandonic* characters. The Tamil has no *visargah* nor *anuswara*. The most difficult letter for a European to pronounce is the *zh*, or as some represent it *rl*. Even some of the natives skip over it by substituting *l* or *y* instead.

Mr. Ellis thinks the Tamil letters are totally different from the Sanskrit *Devanagari*; we think otherwise. The Tamil and its parent, the *Grandonic*, are evidently derived from the *Devanagari*. A close inspection and comparison of the Tamil alphabet, with the elements of the *Devanagari* characters given in Wilkins' and Williams' Grammars, will prove that the one is derived from the other. The Tamil characters, however, are formed with a view to an easy flow in writing.

The vowel is very expressively called *uyir*, *life* or *soul*, and the consonant *mey*, *body*; and the compound or syllabic letter *uyirmey*—*soul and body*. The *Nannul* only admits of three original vowels, *vis.*, *a*, *i*, *u*. As in Sanskrit, the vowels are represented as medials and finals by certain signs, and the first vowel is inherent in all consonants. A dot (*Virmah*) is placed over the quiescent or mute consonants, which are divided, according to the distribution of Greek mutes, into three classes, as indicated above.

The Tamil consonants, rejecting as it does all the aspirates and corresponding letters of the Sanskrit, represent them all, but of course, in an imperfect and inconvenient way. No other combination of consonants is admitted than the duplication of mutes, and the junction of the nasal and the mute.

We have not been able to ascertain where Mr. Babington, and some others after him, got their information of there having been only sixteen letters originally in Tamil.

The combination and permutation of letters, called *Sandhi*, are as refined as in the Sanskrit. Grammatical rules on this subject were given more for poetical compositions. In official papers they are entirely neglected, and admitted in printed Christian books only when absolutely necessary. The Madras Bible Society have come to the noble resolution of printing each word *separately and in its natural form*, without change or addition of letters: excepting in the case of compound forms of expression, and in such words as are united according to the usage of good writers. The *Sandhi* is also

The *Nannul* admits only four parts of speech, *viz.*, the noun, the verb, the particle, and the adjective. There is no article. The pronoun is included in the noun; the prepositions or properly post-positions, conjunctions, and interjections in the particle, and the adverb in the adjective.* There is only one declension of nouns, and not many as in Sanskrit, which has as many declensions as there are terminations of nouns. There are eight cases, which with very few exceptions, have the same terminations. There are only two numbers. The gender is simple and natural. Every word according to its sex and nature is called he, she, or it. Six common relations of nouns are specified, *viz.*, substance, place, time, parts, quality and action, to which every noun is referred in construction. All nouns, besides being divided into common and proper, causal and arbitrary, are also divided into two grand classes (*jñtī*), *viz.*, the superior and inferior class. Names of men, gods, and demons belong to the superior class. Names of all animate and inanimate things belong to the inferior class.

Personal pronouns and nouns have two plural forms, both of which are sometimes used as honorifics, designed to mark superiority in the person to whom they are addressed. Verbs used with such nominatives change their terminations accordingly. Example :—

<i>Nān</i>	I	<i>Nām</i> or <i>Nangal</i>	We	(by way of honorific, I)
<i>Ni</i>	Thou	<i>Nir</i> or <i>Ningal</i>	Ye You	(by way of honorific, Thou)
<i>Avan</i>	He	<i>Avar</i> or <i>Avargal</i>	They	(by way of honorific, { He } She)
<i>Avul</i>	She			

There is another peculiarity in the use of the plural *nām* and *nāṅgal*. *Nām* includes both speaker and hearer; as in the sentence *we are all sinners*. *Nāṅgal* excludes those spoken to, and is the proper correlative of *nīṅgal*, ye. In addressing the deity, it is common to use the plural *nār*, *devarir*, literally, ye gods! This usage is frequently violated by Europeans; and there are certain individuals who have the hardihood to introduce innovations in the Tamil and Telugu Scriptures, and to use the singular *nē* in addresses to the Deity, because they think it is more grammatical, and because some of the native authors have thus used it.

The noun is called *Peyar*, name.

We shall only note the Tamil numerals, and where they agree with the Greek and Sanskrit :—

Onru or Oru	One	έν	(हन)
Reridu	Two	δυο	हि
Mūridru	Three	τρεις	ति
Nāl or Nangu	Four		
Ainthu	Five	πεντε	पञ्चने
Aru	Six	.	
Ezhu	Seven		
Ettu	Eight	ὀκτω	अष्टन्
Onpathu	Nine		
Paththu	Ten		

The Tamil verb is not so complex as the Sanskrit. It is termed *vinai*, *action*; and is divided into three parts, *viz.*, the *root*, the *termination*, indicating person or thing; and the *particle*, or intermediate augment, showing time. There is an exact correspondence in the termination between the demonstrative pronouns and the third persons of verbs. A Tamil verb possesses only three original moods, *viz.*, the indicative, imperative, and the infinitive. The optative and subjunctive are added. The last three are formed directly from the indicative in various ways. The imperative is generally the root. The indicative has three tenses, formed on a very simple method, and each tense has three persons; and the genders are indicated by characteristic terminations in the third person singular and neuter plural. The six incidents of the verb are, *the agent, instrument, place, action, time and object*. This part of Tamil grammar is beautifully simple and clear.

All verbs have a *causative form*, made from the future indicative—Thus, from *nadappēn*, I will walk, are formed the following causatives :—

Nadapikkiren	I cause to walk.
Nadapikkaray	Thou causest to walk.
Nadapikkeran	He causes to walk.

There is also a double or reflex causal verb, but seldom used. The Tamil language has a *negative verb*, which, without the aid of particles, conveys a negative signification. Anderson in his Grammar, remarks: "The formation of a negative verb, by the mere removal (except in the third person neuter and its derivatives) of the several characteristic augments of the *affirmative*, is one of the striking peculiarities of the Tamil language." From the root *nada*, walk, and from the indicative *nadakkiren*, I walk, is formed the negative *nadacēn*, I will not walk.

In connection with verbs the *defective* or auxiliary words are

to be considered. They are the participles and gerunds, which are constantly used in Tamil sentences. Participles supply the place of relative pronouns, which, except in the interrogative forms, do not exist in Tamil: as *avan thantha panam ithu*, "this (is) the money (which) he gave." *Thantha* is a participle: there is no substantive or finite verb in the sentence, which in Tamil, as in Sanskrit, is frequently suppressed and understood. The verbal participle, or as Beschi calls it the gerund, is analogous to the compound perfect participle in English, as *vanthas pōnān*, 'having come, he is gone.'

The *vinaiKuripu* or symbolic word is peculiar to Tamil; we know of no other language in which it exists. It exhibits in a striking light the scientific refinement of the high dialect. Appellatives which are declined like common nouns abound in the language. Symbolic words are somewhat different; they have the form and regimen of both nouns and verbs. As, in common with other languages, the verbal noun, in Tamil, is liable to inflection, so by a remarkable interchange of the properties peculiar to different parts of speech, its symbolic words are liable to be conjugated as verbs. Of the six incidents of the verb, already enumerated, the symbolic word, or nominal derivative, indicates only the first, *viz.*, the agent, and is conjugated through each person, gender, and number; but is entirely indefinite as to mood, tense, &c. It is employed mostly in high Tamil, and is usually formed from a root or primitive noun, used chiefly as an adjective. It may also be formed from any noun. Thus from *adi*, step, foot, root, servitude, is formed *adiyen*, I your servant, &c. The existence of a conjugated derivative gives the Tamil, a peculiarity of idiom, and the stamp of originality.

The structure and idiom of the language are, we think, very simple and natural. Tamil grammarians do not treat of Syntax apart from Etymology. There are only two parts of a sentence, the subject and object, or the subject and predicate. The subject always precedes the finite verb, which concludes the sentence. The most important of the dependent words is placed nearest to its principal, and the least important farthest from it. The adjective always precedes the substantive. The adverb precedes the verb. The infinitive precedes the governing verb. The negative branch of a sentence precedes the affirmative. The comparative precedes that which is compared. The similitude precedes that which is similar. The genitive precedes the governing noun. The cause precedes the effect. The reason precedes the inference. The purpose precedes the determination. The condition or supposition pre-

cedes the consequence. These simple and natural rules are fully exemplified in Rhenius' Grammar, of which they occupy nearly 200 pages.

In active transitive verbs, both the subject and object precede the verb ; as, *nān avanai aditten* : ' I him beat.' The English sentence, *The man who came here yesterday*, would be reversed in Tamil, thus : yesterday here (who) came (the) man.

Adjectives admit of no variation of form to express gender, number or case, or even degrees of comparison. The comparative is expressed by the dative or ablative case of the noun. As—"this is better than that," would be, *to that this is better* : the superlative is expressed by *of all*, as, "God is greatest," would be, *of all, God (is) great*.

The remarkable idiom of the language is said by Anderson, to be, "in point of terseness, energy, and spirit, perhaps unrivalled."—(p. 134). Dr. Schmid, a fellow labourer with Rhenius, and a good linguist, gives this testimony :—* "The mode of collocating its words follows the logical or intellectual order, more so than even the Latin or Greek." He adduces a passage from Horace, in which the rules of Tamil collocation are strictly observed ; so that in translating it into Tamil, we need not change the position of a single word ; we quote the passage for the benefit of those who are fond of translating :—

"Linguenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, præter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

Carm. Lib. II., Ode 13.

We shall give an example, too, which cannot but be translated word for word—Here it is :—

Isocrates orator unam orationem viginti talentis vendidit.
Isocrates endra (called) prasangi oru prasangatai irupathu ponnukku virtan.

Or let us take another shorter Latin sentence, and put it into Tamil and Sanskrit, and see how they stand.

Illi multa res est
Avanuku mikka porul undu.
Tasya bahu dhanam asti.
To him much money is.

After this we need not say with Mr. Percival in his *Land of the Vedas*, that "the idiom or syntax of the language is widely different from that of the Indo-Germanic tongues ; and for the most part the order of arrangement is the opposite of that

* Rhenius' Life, p. 564.

which is followed by them." We quote, however, the following passage, from his interesting book, with much pleasure :—

"Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity; and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression, as an exponent of the mind. The sequence of things, of thought, purpose, action and its results, is always maintained inviolate. Rank and station are provided for by the use of various pronouns, extending to several degrees of honorific expression. The language teems with words expressive of the different degrees of affinity. Where, in European languages, a long periphrasis would be required, Tamil presents the thing in its own single term: and this fecundity extends to all the ramifications of the family tree. If I speak of a sister, I may either take a word that gives the relationship subsisting between us, or I may select one that will indicate our relative ages. Measures and divisions of time are equally minute and expressive. The language, thus specific, gives to the mind a readiness and clearness of conception, whilst its terseness and philosophic idiom afford equal means of lucid utterance."

Other characteristic points in the language might be specified; but we deem it necessary to add a few of the very common roots and words peculiar to Tamil, to enable philologists to determine its place in the classification of languages. They are: *udu*, clothe; *edu*, take; *kodu*, give; *padu*, become, suffer, lie down; *vidu*, quit, leave; *pira* to bring forth, to be born (Latin *pario*); *udai*, break; *vai*, place; *po*, go; *kan*, see; *sey*, do; *kal*, learn; *kol*, kill; *chol*, tell; *nil*, stand; *vil*, sell; *thin*, eat; *odu*, run; *kattu*, tie; *padu*, sing; *podu*, put; *miidu*, shut; *thira*, open; *para*, fly; *mara*, forget; *ké*, watch; *thá*, give; *theri*, know; *vá*, come; *avá*, desire; *kudi*, drink; *arí*, know. Some of the very common nouns are; *tharai*, earth, (Latin *terra*); *ván*, sky, heaven; *vazhy*, way, (Latin, *via*); *án*, man; *pen*, woman (English *hen*); *magan*, son; *magal*, daughter; *thalai*, head; *muriju*, face; *kan*, eye; *pal*, teeth; *ua*, tongue; *udal*, body; *uyir*, life; *kal*, foot; *kai*, hand; *pasi*, hunger; *nāyiru*, sun; *nilā*, moon; *aram*, virtue; *maram*, vice.

The classic word for God is *Kadavul*, and one of the significations given to it is *good*. Here we have the Saxon word *God*, the Gothic *Guth*, the German *Gott*, the Danish and Swedish *Gud*, and the Persian *Khoda*; and it is pleasing to know, that people so far apart from one another, worship God under the same name.

Mr. Percival says that he has been informed by those competent to give information, *that there is a striking similarity*

between the Tamil and the Scythian tongues—(p. 94.)* Mr. Hoisington, of the American Mission in Ceylon, in a paper published in the *American Oriental Journal*, traces analogies between the Tamil and Hebrew. His account of the history and relations of the language is not unworthy of a place in our pages. He says :—

“ There is reason to believe, that India was originally settled by two branches from the family of Shem. One branch came in at the north-west, across the Indus ; the other at the south-west, by sea. The language of the latter branch of this Indo-Shemitic family was Tamil. This may be shown in several ways.

“ The *Muni Agastya* is claimed by the *Tamilars* to be the father of their purer, or high dialect. He prescribed its grammatical rules, and polished the language. This Agastya is said to have resided on the hill Pothiya, which belonged to the Pandian kingdom. It was not the Pothiya of the north, another name for Tibet. It stated in the *Ramayana* that Rama, the hero of the earliest of the Hindu epics, on his first visit to the south, found Agastya in that region, as the head of a company of Rishis. This would seem to establish the existence of the Tamil, as the language of the south of India, as early, at least, as 1200 B. C. It had then already received its distinctive poetic character, which marks the high dialect. As the language of the masses, it must therefore have existed much earlier.

“ Some of the best authors among the natives of Southern India, admit that the father of their pure Tamil dialect was from the north of India, where the Tamil was the native language, and where he learned the Sanskrit. This accords with recently developed facts respecting the relation of the Tamil to the aboriginal tribes of Northern India, which go with augmented force, to indicate that the *Tamil was the original language of all India*. The dominion of the Sanskrit over this early language, has been like the conquests of the Hindus, whose proper language it was, over the earlier tribes, extending gradually from the north-west and being nearly complete in the fields of its first conquest : but less so at the south.”

“ Again, this position is confirmed by a reference to the Bible. The five articles mentioned in *1st Kings x. 22*, were all to be obtained in Ceylon and Southern India, and it was

* In the recent Numbers of the Asiatic Researches there are some interesting papers on this subject ; but we have not seen them.

"believed collectively in no other place. In that passage the word rendered peacock *tōkai*, is a pure Tamil word, a primitive triliteral dissyllabic term. It is not found in Sanskrit, nor in any other Indian language not allied to the Tamil. Some lexicographers have considered this to be radically the same as the Sanskrit *sikhi*. But this word has been adopted in the Tamil in the form of *siki*. Every Tamil scholar knows that *siki* and *tōkai* are radically distinct. The term *kapi* rendered ape, but more properly meaning monkey, is just as it stands in Tamil. This is found also in the Sanskrit. But we know that Sanskrit was introduced into Southern India before Solomon's time; and therefore the world may be regarded as transferred from the Tamil to the Hebrew, especially as it is found in such close mention with the pure Tamil word above named. The same may be said of the word rendered *ivory*, in the passage referred to, literally tooth of elephants. The part meaning elephant is found in Tamil as well as in Sanskrit. These considerations seem to indicate very clearly whence the Trashishan fleet of Solomon brought those articles, and also, to determine the language of the people from whom they were obtained.

"There are other considerations which go to show that the Tamil was the language of the first settlers of Southern India. The earliest names of places, things, &c., of the south are pure Tamil, having no connection with the Sanskrit. These have been in many cases displaced by terms from the language of the dominant religion, *Brahmanism*. Such is the case with regard to Madura, Ramnad, Rama's bridge, Travancore, which were formerly called respectively *Alavāy*, *Mukarvai*, *Kallanai*, *Malaiyālam*. The same of Tinnevely, a country where the *Shanars* abound, who are undoubtedly a portion of the aboriginal race. Its name is in pure Tamil. *Tirunelvēli*. The original term for Point Calimere is in Tamil *Kōdi Karai*.

"These remarks intimate, what it is believed will be found to be the fact, that *the Tamil belongs to the Shemitic family of languages*. If so, it presents a new and interesting variety; and one, it is thought, well deserving the attention of the philologist and ethnologist.

"The roots, which are mostly verbal, are generally *triliteral dissyllabic*. A few words are composed of but two letters, and few have more than two syllables.

"Some Tamil words are so similar to Hebrew as at once to indicate their common origin. The following are given as

examples of this similarity in vocables, being about one in every ten compared." Many more doubtless exist :—

Tamil.	Hebrew.
<i>Pāri</i> , to produce.	פָּרָא to create.
<i>Aru</i> , to reap, pluck, &c.	אָרָה to reap, pluck.
<i>Era</i> , to ascend, increase.	אָרַם to be high.
<i>Ari</i> , lion.	אָרִי lion.
<i>Ari</i> , light.	אָור light.
<i>Aran</i> , Lord.	אָדון Lord.
<i>Patti</i> , house, gold.	בֵּית house.
<i>Ur</i> , town.	עִיר- town.
<i>Panna</i> , to make.	בָּנָה to build.
<i>Maynu</i> , death.	מָוֶת death. *

"The Tamiliars use *athu*, *that*, as indicative of the Supreme Eternal God ; it is one of their most expressive appellations for the undeveloped or unorganized Deity. This suggests the remark of Lowth, that the Hebrew word הוּא He is often equivalent to the true Eternal God.† *Dient. xxxi.*, 8—32, 39. *Psalms cii.*, 27."

There are others who think there is a greater similarity between the Tamil and Greek. Anderson, in the Preface to his Grammar, notices the following points of coincidence : (1.) "The Tamil alphabet, like that of the Greek, consisted originally of only sixteen letters. (2.) As in the ancient Greek, so in Tamil, there is not any *spiritus asper*. (3.) In the rules of *Sandhi*, specially after short dissyllables ending in *u*, and after final vowels, the letter *y* or *v* must be inserted before a vowel, which illustrates, in a remarkable manner, that part of the operation of the digamma in ancient Greek, which seemed to obviate the hiatus produced by the collision of vowels. (4.) "In Tamil the letters *p* and *v* are interchangeable."

Mr. Anderson's remarks tempt us to add a few Greek words, which in sound and sense bear a remarkable resemblance with Tamil :—

<i>αἶψα</i>	to raise	Tamil <i>ra</i> .
<i>ἀρετή</i>	virtue	" <i>aram</i> .
<i>γάλα</i>	milk	" <i>pāl</i> .
<i>ἐγγύς</i>	near	" <i>ingē</i> , here.
<i>ἐγείρειν</i>	to awaken	" <i>eguru</i> , raise.

* Adam Clarke's theory that the Hebrew *nākash* (the serpent that deceived Eve) was a monkey, would be borne out in Tamil ; for *nāga* signifies monkey as well as serpent.

† तत् that तत्त्वमसि the sole reality. See *Vedanta Sara*, by Dr. Ballantyne, p. 60, 61. Greek *το, τα*. Latin *iste, ista, istud*.

ενδύω	to put on	Tamil <i>udu</i> , (from which <i>udāl</i> , the body.)
επειν	to speak	„ <i>iyambā</i> .
θηλυς	a female	„ <i>thaiyal</i> , wife, woman.
ιδου	behold	„ <i>iñō</i> .
καινος	new	„ <i>kanni</i> , virgin.
κρεας	flesh	„ <i>kari</i> .
κυνεω	to adore	„ <i>kani</i> , to bow.
παιων	a song	„ <i>pā</i> , song.
παις	child	„ <i>paya</i> , boy.
παλαια	old	„ <i>palya</i> .
παρρησια	openly	„ <i>parāsam</i> .
πειθειν	to persuade	„ <i>paiṭhu</i> .
ποιειν	to make	„ <i>pannu</i> .
πολις	city	„ <i>pālāyam</i> , encampment, suburb.
πολυς	much	„ <i>pala</i> .
πολλοι	many	„ <i>pulcr</i> .
ποτε	a long time	„ <i>poṭhu</i> , time, when.
ταυς	peacock	„ <i>thogai</i> .
πυρ	fire	„ <i>pori</i> , spark.
ψηρ	it is necessary	„ <i>akkarai</i> .
σειω	to shake	„ <i>asai</i> .

Many words in all languages agree in sound and signification, thereby evidently indicating a common origin. We might even draw analogies between English and Tamil. Mr. Stokes, in an excellent translation of a Tamil work, has noted the following :—

Cash.	<i>kāsu</i> .
Kill.	<i>kol</i> .
Boy.	<i>paya</i> .
Penny.	<i>panam</i> .
Put.	<i>pōdu</i> .
Want.	<i>vendu</i> .
Hen.	<i>pēn</i> .
Go.	<i>pō</i> .
Hole.	<i>pallam</i> .
Behind.	<i>pin</i> .
Sack.	<i>sāku</i> .

On this portion of our subject we have perhaps occupied too much of our space. We regret, indeed, we have not had the benefit of the papers that have recently appeared on this subject in the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society; and we therefore refrain from offering any decided opinion of our own: at present we feel our inability for the task of theorizing. But we must allow the learned Editor of Dr. Rottler's Dictionary to give us the benefit of his researches. In his elaborate Preface to the fourth part of the Tamil Dictionary, he states his views of the language. He is decidedly on the side of Ellis in thinking the "Sanskrit to be not of the same genus or stem" as the Tamil. "It is possible to write," he says, "a simple sentence in pure native Tamil; and then

"to express the same meaning in words almost wholly of Sanskrit derivation: the difference, in the two cases, being something like the difference in the English style of Swift and Johnson. He hazards an opinion, (derived, in a very great degree, from wading through the polyglot Mackenzie collection of MSS.) that there was originally one simple, homogeneous dialect spoken by the rude aborigines, from Himalaya to Cape Comorin. The earliest probable refinement was in the Pali of the north, and the Tamil of the extreme south. That the old Tamil could have done without much of the gilding which it has received (from Sanskrit) is certain. The result, however, of a process, not very dissimilar to that which the early Saxon has undergone, is to render the Tamil language (like our native English) one of the most copious, refined, and polished languages spoken by man."

We now come to the second, and perhaps, more interesting part of our subject, *the Tamil Literature*. Native authors have divided their literature into two great divisions, *viz.*, *Ilakkanam*,* the art of writing elegantly or grammatically; and *Ilakkiam*,† elegant'y written works or classics. The first comprises all works on Grammar, including Logic, Prosody, and Rhetoric, and also the *Nigandus* or Dictionaries. The second includes all approved poetical compositions, original and translated. *Ilakkiam* is composition constructed on the principal of the *Ilakkanam*.

Ilakkanam, or *Belles Lettres*, as Beschi calls it, is treated under five heads: 1. *Letters*. This constitutes that part of Grammar which treats of the number, name, order, origin, form, quantity, initials, finals, medials, substitutes, and combinations of letters. In one word it is Orthography. 2. *Words*. This part treats of the four parts of speech, *viz.*, the noun, the verb, the particles, and the adjectives. This includes Etymology and Syntax. 3. *Matter*; or the mode in which, by writing words, a discourse is formed. This treats of amplification, the passions and affections of the mind, which act internally on man, and things of the external world. 4. *Versification*, or the laws of Prosody. 5. *Embellishment*, or Rhetoric. Under all these heads the Tamil is very full and complete.

Agastiar is said to have written the Institutes of Tamil Grammar. His work, with the exception of a few *Sutras*, which have been recently printed, is supposed to be lost. The work of one of his immediate disciples, named *Tholkapiar*

(*ancient author*), bearing his name, exists. The scholar has evidently not followed the simplicity of the master. *Pavananti*, a learned Jain, has the honour of producing the *Nannul*, which has superseded all other grammatical treatises, and is deservedly held in the highest estimation. This work has had many commentators. Pavananti only wrote on *letters and words*. Mr. Stokes has justly remarked of this work, that it "stands conspicuous among the grammatical treatises of all nations, for logical arrangement and comprehensive brevity." The term *Nannul*, literally *good thread*, corresponds exactly to the French *Belles Lettres* and the Latin *Litteræ Humaniores*. We have seen the *Laghu Kaumudi*, and the excellent translation of it by Dr. Ballantyne, of the Benares College, and we have tried to read some of the *Sutras* of *Pāṇini* incorporated in that work; but we must reiterate of them the remark of Sir William Jones, that they are "*dark as the darkest oracle*." The *Sutras* of Pavananti, however, are concise yet comprehensive: they are simple, plain, and obvious. A part of this work has been translated and published at Madras, by W. Joyes, a Young East Indian, and Samuel Pillay, a native Christian; and the work, as far as it goes, shows much labour and carefulness, and does the translators great credit. We have a manuscript translation of the whole work, a copy of which we placed in the hand of a learned German, who is now in his native land publishing Tamil books. Of the author Pavananti, nothing more is known than that he was the son of *Saṃmathi* of *Sanagāpuram*. From his invocation to *Arka Deva*, we learn that he was a Jain or a Buddhist, who lived in the Pandya kingdom, in the palmy days of Tamil literature. We have no way of ascertaining the period when he lived. In his Preface he says that he wrote under the patronage of one *Gangan*. He acknowledges that he *follows the path hewn out by ancient authors*. He considers Tamil as one of the eighteen languages. There is certainly *multum in parvo* in the 462 *Sutras* he has written.

Pavananti's Preface is a learned dissertation, replete with instruction, well worth the attention of any student. It contains what would be called the philosophy of education. In his general Preface, for he writes two, a general and a particular, he treats on the five following subjects: 1. The nature of a classical work. 2. The character and qualifications of a teacher. 3. The method of teaching. 4. The character and qualifications of the scholar, and, 5. The conduct of scholars during the time of instruction. He writes largely on the first subject. Some of his remarks, to the fastidious ears of a European, would be irrelevant. He deals, in what would be consi-

lered, far-fetched illustrations. All works, he says, are of three kinds: *Primary*, *Supplemental*, and *Deductive*. The *Primary* work originates from the Deity, who is of perfect and infinite understanding: thereby attributing language and letters to a divine origin. *There is no wisdom without Revelation*. *Supplemental* and *Deductive* works are human, but must be in accordance with the divine. Original communications should be quoted in all their purity and integrity. He enumerates seven principles or characteristics of authorship, *viz.*, consent, dissent, neutrality, originality, selection, criticism, and dogmatism. He specifies ten defects and ten beauties of language. The defects are: brevity, redundancy, tautology, contradiction, vulgarisms, ambiguity, weakness, irrelevancy, inappropriate transitions, and unintelligibility. The ten beauties are: conciseness, clearness or comprehensiveness, agreeableness, use of appropriate words, harmony, profundity, method, respect for standard authorities, choice of proper subjects, and illustrations. He enumerates thirty-two canons of criticism, some of them, we confess, we cannot understand. "True criticism," he says, "consists in (1) showing the consistency of the subject of a work with generally received opinions as well as with those of approved authors, and (2) in a nicety of judgment by the exercise of which fit places are awarded to appropriate topics." His definition of a Sutra is good: "a Sutam contains as much matter in as few words as possible, and still the force and minuteness of the same is so unaffected thereby, that they appear as clear as the reflexion of an object in a mirror." In his estimation a commentary should contain fourteen particulars, *viz.*, the text, its purport, its several bearings, definition, divisions, examples, objections, answers, explanatory notes, analysis, paraphrase, dogma, advantage, and proof.

His estimate of the character and qualifications of a teacher is by no means low. He should be respectable both in his connexions and in the amount of his knowledge. He should have experience, and possess a facility in communicating knowledge. Like the sea-girt earth he should be encompassed with the circle of the sciences, be patient and immovable as a mountain, just and equitable as a balance, and his reputation should be as fragrant as the rose. In teaching, a suitable time and place should be selected, and then, on an elevated seat, *the teacher is to invoke the Divine Being for a blessing on his work*. This is wholesome advice, emanating from a heathen; and worth the attention of the school masters of a Christian government in a heathen land! Having well digested

the subject of his lectures, he should in a gentle and agreeable manner communicate instruction, considering well the capacities of his scholars, and the objects of their pursuits. The best attention of the teacher is to be bestowed on his own sons, the sons of his own preceptor, the sons of his sovereign, *those who pay well*, those who are promising, and those who are likely to prove eminent in the public service.

He classifies scholars under three orders. The first is compared to a swan and cow, indicative of *discrimination and reflection*. The second is compared to parrots who learn and prattle, but understand not. The third is compared to a vessel full of holes, that lets the instructions received by one ear escape by the other. No instruction is to be imparted to drunkards, slothful, self-opinionated, lascivious, thievish, sickly, and stupid fellows.* Together with thirst for knowledge and a maintenance of good character, the duties of a scholar are punctual attendance, strict obedience and conformity to rules. 1, 2, 4 %

The mode of improvement is said to consist in extensive reading, revision and digest of studies, and in the acquaintance and conversation of the learned. The first, even careful attention to a subject is insufficient. A second revisal is necessary. The subject is mastered only in the third review: one-fourth of perfection is attained by self-exertion; another fourth is obtained by communication with the learned; the remaining half is secured, and the summit of perfection reached, by teaching others.

In the *Particular Preface*, Pavananti treats on various subjects regarding authorship, and the art of book-making. We shall simply touch on a few of them. A work is to be named from the nature of its contents, the name of the author, the character of the metre or style in which it is written, or according to the author's option or fancy. There are four ways in which a book may be produced: by abridgement, by enlargement, by a union of both, and by translation. A preface should not be written by the author himself; at least that part of the preface which must be necessarily egotistic; but by the author's tutor, or a fellow student, or a pupil, or by a fit commentator or editor. There are circumstances, however, when a man may praise himself. They are, when appeal is made to a superior for support; when

* "Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be."—*Arnold*.

it is necessary to make known one's own worth; and when railed at for ignorance by opponents.

Notwithstanding the existence of so excellent a Grammar, the Tamilians did not cultivate the science of philology. There is no attempt at tracing the meaning of roots, and there is very little on the connexion of their own language with Sanskrit, or any of the other vernaculars. They confined themselves to the study of their own language, and endeavoured to enrich it with words and idioms of Sanskrit. We think the same remark applicable to all the Indian languages, even the Sanskrit. The Brahman was too proud to trace connexion between *the language of the Gods* and the spoken tongues. They may have canons of criticism; but the remark is true that "in the west the free spirit of criticism was developed; in the east never."

Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant Missionary in India, was the first who wrote a grammar of Tamil in Latin. His *grammatica Tamulica* was printed at Halle in Germany in 1716. Of all European writers in Tamil the first rank must be awarded to Constantius Joseph Beschi, whose grammars of the low and high dialect are held in great estimation. His grammar of the colloquial dialect was written in Latin, and dated *Mission of Madura, 29th January 1728*; and printed at Tranquebar in 1739. A second edition was printed at the College Press of the Madras Government in 1813: an edition of the same book was recently issued from the Jesuit Press at Pondicherry. An English translation of this work was first made by the Rev. C. H. Horst, in 1807, and printed by the Christian Knowledge Society's Press at Madras in 1831. An improved edition, or as the editor would have it, a new translation, by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, was printed in 1848. The book was originally written for the use of Jesuit Missionaries. It has proved an invaluable aid to many who have studied the language, and especially to Protestant Missionaries. From the author's preface, we extract the following passage:—

—"Nor, have I meditated writing this new grammar of the Tamil language, under the presumption that I know more than others. But a certain personage, both connected with me by old acquaintance, and conspicuous to all by his singular worth, so urged this work by his requests, that observant whether of my love or my respect, I thought I could no longer refuse what was solicited with so much anxious earnestness by such a man, especially since the mere desires of men of this note, although they come in the guise of entreaty, are,

"in fact, commands, which it is unlawful for an ingenious mind
 "to pass by." He concludes thus: "Nor will I detain you
 "longer, most religious fathers, who performing this embassy
 "for Christ, soon to become preachers of the Gentiles, have by
 "his counsel become converted to the simplicity of children;
 and with admirable zeal, though wont elsewhere to instruct
 others in the sublimest matters, have here begun to lisp the
 barbarous sounds, which, you have modestly not disdained to
 learn from others. To this your apostolic desire, this little
 work of mine, wishes to afford its service. If you are of
 "opinion that you have received any assistance from it, pray
 "ye the common Lord of the harvest, that I also, following
 your example, may not sit down in slothful idleness in His
 vineyard—Farewell."

To this useful book, he soon afterwards added his grammar
 of the high dialect, written in 1730. This will always be con-
 sidered a standard work. The two grammars put together com-
 plete the subject, and contain all that a student needs to know
 concerning the language. Though others have written gram-
 mars since, in our estimation, Beschi stands unrivalled. His
 second grammar was translated into English by the accom-
 plished Babington of the Madras Civil Service. Beschi has
 also written a grammar for the use of the natives, on the native
 plan in *Sutras*, containing all the five parts of *Ilakkanam* or
 grammar, and called it *Thonnul* (the old or ancient work) in
 opposition to *Nannul*, the popular Tamil Grammar.

Beschi's knowledge of the Tamil language and literature was
 very extensive. He was a master of the language; knew more
 of it perhaps than any native of modern times. His writings
 in prose and poetry, original and translated, are voluminous.
 It is natural to wish to know something of the history and
 private life of such a man. We have a full published life of
 him in Tamil. He was called by the natives *Viramdmuni*, i. e.,
 the *Heroic Devotee*. He was born in Italy; he was educated
 for the Church at Rome; and joined the order of Jesuits.
 Having distinguished himself as a man of superior natural and
 acquired attainments, he was appointed by the Pope to the
 East India Mission, and arrived at Goa, according to one ac-
 count in 1700, and to another 1707. Fired with ambition to
 follow in the track of Francis Xavier, and with zeal to propagate
 his faith, he was diligent in the study of the language. He stu-
 died even Persian, with the Jesuit policy of fitting himself for
 the service of the State, and for the promotion of the views of
 his religious order. As Schwartz, so Beschi, became connected
 with the State, and was employed by a native prince under

Chanda Sahib, the Nabob of Trichinopoly ; he acted as *Dewan* or Minister, in 1736.

He was sent to the Madura Mission ; where, a century before, Robert de Nobili, nephew to the famous Cardinal Bellarmine, established himself as a Brahman from the West. This de Nobili was called by the natives *Tatwa Póthagar* (Teacher of Truth,) and wrote a treatise in Tamil on the nature of the soul, showing the identity and individuality of the human spirit. He also composed a book on Christian doctrines ; and is said to have forged certain writings in Sanskrit. Beschi succeeded in a place where such a man laboured ; and acting under the orders and approbation of his provincial, the Archbishop of Cranganore, he followed in the footsteps of his order, who then acted in direct opposition to the express injunctions of their master, the Pope. Beschi conformed in his dress, food, &c., to the customs of the people ; and assumed the pomp and pageantry of a Hindu guru. He fell in with their prejudices, went about dressed in purple flowing garments, a white turban, and yellow slippers. In his hand he carried a silver-mounted cane. In his ears and fingers he wore rings set with precious stones. He travelled on a white horse or in a stately palanquin ; a man held a purple silk umbrella over him, another fanned him with peacock feathers. He was seated on a tiger skin ; and a retinue followed. When he was the dewan of Chanda Sahib, he was called *Ismathi Sannyáse*, and got for his maintenance four villages yielding an annual revenue of 1,200 Rupees.

He is said to have been a great linguist. The most celebrated of his works are the *Thonnul* or *Grammatical Institutes* ;—he *Thembávani* (*the Unfading Garland*), an epic setting forth the History of the Bible, and specially the Life of our Lord ;—and the *Chaturakaráthi*, a Dictionary of the high dialect. In his great poem which no native would think was written by a European, he follows the plan of the Hindu Epics, and fills it up with much that is fabulous. It was printed for the first time at Pondicherry, in 1850, in three volumes. His *Chaturakaráthi* is a Dictionary in four parts, *viz.*, 1. Containing all words in general and classical use. 2. Synonyms. 3. Various words which are included under the generic or technical terms of the language, and 4. Rhythmical words to aid poetical composition. His Dictionary in Latin, French, and Tamil has been published at Pondicherry. He also wrote a *Clavis Humaniorum Tamulica Idiomatis*, but we have not seen it.

In 1740, when the Mahratta army under Nádar Sing besieged Trichinopoly, and took Chanda Sahib captive, an end was

put to the political power of the Jesuit. He retired to Mañapār, thirty miles south-west of Trichinopoly, and there, in the service of his church, he died in 1742.

His translator, Mr. Babington, says regarding him: "It remains a subject of regret, that talents so rare should have been devoted to the promotion of a religion scarcely less replete with error than that which it supplanted: but we may draw this practical conclusion from Beschi's success, that a thorough acquaintance with Hindu learning and a ready compliance in matters of indifference, with Hindu customs, are powerful human means, to which the Jesuits owed much of their success, and which should not, as it is too much the case, be despised by those who undertake the task of conversion in a better cause."

The *Rudiments of the Tamil Grammar*, by Robert Anderson, of the Madras Civil Service, was published in London, in 1821. The author was compelled, in 1819, by a declining state of health, to relinquish his Civil appointment in India, and was appointed Assistant Oriental Professor at Haileybury. His grammar was composed for the benefit of English students. He has made Beschi's two grammars the basis of his own; following the scheme of Wanostrocht's French grammar, he points out analogies; and it is altogether a well-digested, neatly got up book.

He was followed by Rhenius, missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevely. "Finding," he says, "the grammatical works previously published, defective in various respects, especially in regard to Syntax," he wrote his grammar; the first edition of which was printed in 1836. On Orthography and Etymology he follows the order of native grammars. He is pretty full on Syntax; but has made one great mistake, and that is, he has coined his examples instead of giving them from native books. He professes to give us *pure Tamil*; but pure Tamil of his own concoction. With the helps he had, and with his clearness of head and general scholarship, he might have written a better grammar than he has done. But his work has thrown the others into the shade, and has greatly helped the student. His experience regarding the best method of learning the language is worthy of attention. "It will be asked, he says, how shall we acquire the proper Tamil idiom? I answer, that it can only be acquired by the assistance of a learned native, who knows the native grammars well, has had no practice in English and foreign compositions, possesses a clear and logically thinking intellect, and is no flatterer. With persons of this character

"I was early brought into connexion ; and to this providential circumstance must be attributed whatever degree of critical knowledge I have obtained." Rhenius' Tamil compositions are clear and idiomatic ; but he wanted the poetical turn of mind, which characterises Beschi and even Fabricius. Besides the revision of the New Testament, he has written a Body of Divinity, a book on the Evidences, and many useful tracts.

The first English and Tamil Dictionary, by Fabricius and Breithaupt, missionaries at Madras, was published in 1779. We do not think Fabricius and Breithaupt had any means of consulting Beschi's Dictionary in manuscript. Their work appears to be an independent compilation ; and was written chiefly by Fabricius, when he was in jail, for debt contracted by standing security for other people. The Dictionary enabled him to discharge his liabilities.

The American missionaries at Jaffna have put forth a very useful English and Tamil Dictionary, which is now extensively used. Rottler's great Dictionary was the work of his long life. It is in four parts ; but he died before the second part was printed. The first part was printed in 1834. The work then devolved on Mr. Taylor, the editor, who has carried the whole through the press. The plan of the work is said to be philosophical, referring all words to the simplest roots or primitive forms. But the plan has its disadvantages. It occupies too much space, and makes the book very large and expensive. A Dictionary on an improved plan is now in the Madras American Mission Press ; but we do not think it will supersede Rottler.

We now enter upon the province of *Ilakkiam* or Tamil classical works ; and as Poetry always pleases, we trust this part of our subject will not be uninteresting. In various periods of the world men have arisen to astonish and delight it. In times when the minds of men were not distracted by the attempt to attain a variety of knowledge, a single faculty, and one capable of great improvement by exercise, might easily be supposed to attain to a great degree of excellence. Every nation has its poets. Poetry has always its birth in the infancy of the social state, and is the means of transmitting events to a higher antiquity than Prose. Thence we have the *Iliad of Homer*, the *Ramayana of Valmiki*, and the *Chintamani* of some unknown writer in Tamil. The Hindus appear to have cultivated both the *Contemplative and Plastic Kinds of Poetry*. The great popular Tamil Epic is the *Ramayana of Kamban*, and the great moral book in Tamil is the *Kural of Tiruvalluvar*.

We have both the great Hindu Epics in Tamil, and all the

great *Puranas*, so that we are well stocked with mythology. *Kamban*, the writer of the *Tamil Ramayana*, deserves special notice as being a genuine poet. It has been well remarked that no translation of an ancient Poem in rhyme can be faithful, and that no translation of poetry, unless it be in rhyme, will ever be read. These remarks apply to the *Tamil Ramayana*. *Kamban* does not strictly translate, but gives his own version of the story, not differing materially from the original. We have read both, and at times we were at a loss to know to which of the poets the palm of victory was to be assigned. *Kamban's Tamil Ramayana* may be compared to *Pope's Iliad*. Valmiki is diffuse and simple; *Kamban* abridges but elaborates. There is a profusion of ornament at times; here and there abounding in beautiful touches of expression. We believe it will generally be found that a copy deviates from its original, not in becoming more simple, but in the addition of graces, the necessity of which was not felt by those, to whom the first impression belongs.

With the failing common to all Hindu poets, *Kamban* devoted one verse in every hundred he composed, to the praise of his patron and benefactor; on which account, when the poem was submitted to the Madura College for sanction, some of the Professors objected to it on the score of having human praise mixed up with divine. The Brahmans were jealous of the rival poem; but on proper representation by *Kamban*, of the necessity of his offering some tribute to the memory of his benefactor, the collegians allowed him to retain one verse to every thousand he composed in praise of his benefactor. The poet overjoyed at this concession, rose up in the midst of the learned assembly, and said, "*I considered my benefactor as one in a hundred, but this illustrious assembly have considered him one in a thousand*"! It is reported of the poet, that after he finished his *Ramayana*, he entirely lost his poetic inspiration, and was known to listen with intense admiration to his own poems when recited, without knowing that he was the author.

Beschi, in an Appendix to his high Tamil grammar, has given us his thoughts on the art of Tamil poetry. The Tamil poets, he remarks, use the genuine language of poetry. They rarely mention any object to which they do not couple some ornamental epithet. When they speak of a tree, they describe it either as green, or loaded with flowers, or shady, or majestically large, or as having all these qualities. They never mention a mountain, without representing it as rising among woods or watered by fountains, or decked with flowers. Sometimes they employ this embellishment to excess. They are full of

metaphor and allegory. They are at times extravagantly hyperbolic. In the Tamil *Naishadam*, it is said of *Damayanti*, the consort of the hero, that when Brahma had created her, her beautiful form had only one rival in the universe, and that was the fair moon. But Brahma, determined that every beauty should centre in *Damayanti*, took a handful of beauty from off the face of the moon, and threw it into that of *Damayanti*'s. The deformity thus made, is still apparent, in the moon. The Tamil poets delight in similes as all eastern poets do. They indulge in fiction, and pay little regard to nature. Their *Par-nassus* is *Pudiyamalak*, near Cape Comorin. They have neither Apollo nor Mercury. Their Minerva is Saraswati. They invoke Ganapati. Pathos and sweetness rather than vigour, are the characteristics of Indian poetry. They are not "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," so much as thoughts that please and words that charm. Milk and honey flow, but such milk and honey, as, to prove an unwholesome diet to some minds.

The Tamil language is rich in ethical writings. When Professor Wilson was lately asked to name some Sanskrit work that might be read with advantage by the European student, he could only refer to the *Hitopadesha*. But we have something better in Tamil. The productions of the elite of the Madura college were chiefly of an ethical nature. In the reign of Vamsa Sekhara, probably in the third century of the Christian era, was founded the Madura college, for the cultivation of the Tamil language and literature. His son Vamsa Churamani completed his father's design, and established the college on a proper footing. This was then most probably the most celebrated seat of learning in all Hindustan. If the court of Vikramāditya had its nine gems, the Madura college is reported to have had more than five times that number—of the forty-eight *Sangattar* or professors, *Narkirar*, *Pānar*, and *Kapilar*, were chief. In connexion with this subject, Professor Wilson, in his historical sketch of the kingdom of Pandya, remarks :—

"These (professors) received instructions in the Sutras or 'rules of the Dravira language, it is said, from the god Siva himself, who appeared amongst them as the forty-ninth professor, and enabled them to expound and propagate the primitive institutes of the language, which are invariably attributed in the Dekhan to the Muni Agastya. The cultivation of the Tamil language, is supposed by Mr. Ellis, to have preceded that of Sanskrit in the South; and this would be a circumstance in favour of the early existence of the *Sangattar*,

"for it could not have been long after the Christian era, that the fables of Northern India were domesticated in the Peninsula. However, the opinion evidently is correct only within certain limits. The Sanskrit language, in prayers, hymns, and legends, must have accompanied the introduction of the Saiva faith anterior to the Christian era, and must have been cultivated as far as it was connected with religion. Its profane literature, and even its Puranic mythology, may have subsequently become objects of study; and they apparently superseded the cultivation of the native tongue, till the eighth or ninth century after Christianity, when its revival was effected.

"The prominent figure which Agastya is thus made to assume in the literary history of the south of India, attaches an interest to his existence which, it is to be apprehended, will scarcely derive much satisfaction from the accounts of the sage which are recorded. In the first place, a high antiquity must be assigned to him on the authority of the *Ramayana*, the oldest work, after the *Vedas*, perhaps in the Sanskrit language. His migration to the South is there detailed; and, disregarding the fabulous motives assigned for his residence there, it seems not a forced conjecture to infer his being a chief agent in diffusing the worship of Siva in the Dekhan. Neither this remote date, nor his character as a foreigner, renders it likely that he was the first Tamil teacher; and if we are not allowed to suppose that this character originated in his legendary reputation, we must conclude that the author of the various works attributed to Agastya was a different individual, although of similar name. There are still many works current attributed to Agastya, besides his grammatical aphorisms. These consist of poems in praise of Siva, and a number of medical works. It is not very probable, however, that the appropriation is generally correct. At the first institution of the Madura *Sangattar*, it would appear that some dispute arose immediately between the professors and the Saiva priests, connected, not impossibly, with that contention for pre-eminence of knowledge which has ever prevailed in the Tamil countries between the Brahmans and inferior castes. The priests, however, proved the more powerful; and reconciliation took place between them and the literati of Madura. At least, we may thus interpret the legend of Narakira incurring the wrathful glance of Siva, and only escaping being burnt to ashes in the flames emanating from the eye in the forehead of the god, by plunging into the holy pool Pat-tamari, and there composing the *Andadi Panyam*, a poem in

"honour of Siva. After this event, the parties continued upon good terms; and Siva presented to the professors a diamond bench of great critical sagacity, for it extended itself readily for the accommodation of such individuals as were worthy to be upon a level with the sages of the *Sangattar*, and resolutely detrudd all who pretended to sit upon it without possessing the requisite qualifications. In other words, the learned corporation of Madura resembled learned bodies in other countries, and maintained as strict a monopoly as they possibly could of literary reputation."

A little before the reign of Kúna Pandyan, the Madura college was abolished; and the *Samanal*, or Jain religion was established.

"The abolition of the *Sangattar*, says Professor Wilson, is narrated in the usual marvellous manner. A candidate for the honour of a seat on the bench of professors, appeared in the person of Tiruvallavar, a Pariah priest of Marlápur, and the author of an ethical poem. The learned professors were highly indignant at his presumption, but, as he was patronised by the Raja, they were compelled to give his book at least the trial. For this purpose it was to find a place upon the marvellous bench, which the professors took care to occupy fully. To their astonishment, however, the bench extended itself to receive the work, and the book itself, commencing to expand, spread out so as to thrust all other occupants from the bench. The Raja and the people of Madura witnessed the scene, and enjoyed the humiliation of the sages; and the professors were so sensible of their disgrace, that, unable to survive it, they issued forth, and all drowned themselves in a neighbouring pool. In consequence the establishment was abandoned.

"If we contemplate this event in a literary view alone, we need not be at a loss to understand it. The first professors were eminent in Tamil composition, for the cultivation of which the college appears to have been founded. The members, however, had subsequently, in all probability, directed their attention more to Sanskrit composition and had, at all events, neglected the cultivation of their literature. That the latter was the case, is evident from the remark of Avayar, that the old Tamil was preferable to the new; indicating that, even in the ninth century, the dialect had been so far neglected as to have become partially obsolete. With Tiruvalluvar, however, circumstances changed. The old system was subverted, and a new impulse was given to the study of Tamil, which produced, in

"the course of the ninth century, in the Pandya and Chola kingdoms, a number of the most classical writers in the Tamil tongue.

"The date at which the subversion of the college occurred, is another subject of enquiry, and if we trust to the tradition which connects it with Tiruvalluvar, we must identify it with the period of his existence. Other legends make him a brother of Avayar; but, as this family story is altogether fabulous, no stress need be laid upon the assertion. The MS list of Tamil authors states his works to be 1600 years old; and Mr. Kindersley, who has translated a prose version of part of it, mentions that the original is understood to have been written fourteen hundred years ago. He also notices the extreme difficulty of the style, from which a high antiquity may be inferred; and, from these considerations, we may conclude that the age of Tiruvalluvar may have been between the sixth and ninth centuries.

"As far as we can judge from the extracts of the *Kural*, which have been translated, we have some reason to suppose that their author was not a very orthodox member of the Hindu faith. He appears to have advocated moral duties and practical virtues above ceremonial observances and speculative devotion, and so far trespassed upon the strict law. By his allusion to the heaven of Indra, and to various parts of the regular pantheon, as well as the respect he inculcates to Brahmins and ascetics, he does not appear to have been a seceder or a sectary. How far, therefore, he contributed to the introduction of the Jain or Buddha faith, into the Madura monarchy, may be doubted, although the diffusion of his doctrines was calculated to undermine the brahminical system. At any rate, it is agreed that Kings of Madura had adopted sectarian principles, and that Kuna Pandyan was a follower of the samanal doctrines, intending by those the Jain faith; although the term will apply also to that of Buddha, with which there is equal reason to identify it."

To humble the pride and arrogance of the Brahmins, a poor despised Pariah is raised up by Providence to be the first of Tamil philosophers, and perhaps the chief of Hindu moralists. We are ignorant of his real name. He has had many Commentators, and not one of them has mentioned it. *Valluvar* is the appellation by which soothsayers and learned men of the Pariah tribe are distinguished. *Tiru-Valluvar* means the divine soothsayer. His work is superior to the *Institutes of Menu*, and is worthy of the divine Plato himself. It is called *Kural*, signifying short or condensed. It is divided into

three, parts, *viz.*, virtue, wealth and pleasure. It contains 133 chapters of ten distichs each, resembling the Sanskrit sutras, the first line containing four feet, and the second line three. The verses are very terse and sententious, and the style perfectly pure. The learned Beschi translated the work into Latin. Dr. Caemmerer, of Tranquébar, it is said, published a translation of it in German. Some portions of it were translated into English by the "great Tamil scholar and admirer of Hinduism, the late learned and talented F. W. Ellis, Esq., with critical notes and annotations." The Rev. W. H. Drew has published a useful edition, with a translation of sixty-three chapters, occasional notes, and an index verborum. It is the great class book in all Tamil schools. "The work itself," says Mr. Drew, "is held in the highest veneration by the Tamil people. The writer of it is deemed an incarnation of wisdom. It is called the first of works, from which, whether for thought or language, there is no appeal. The Commentary of Parimelazhagar, a Brahman, is considered the best of the ten that has been written upon the *Kural*, and the first of Commentaries."

To give our readers an idea of the estimation in which the work was held by the literati of the Madura College, we shall here quote the sayings of some of them, and the decisions they pronounced on the work and its author. An aerial voice was heard to declare that he should be allowed to sit on the bench of the learned. Saraswati declared that the *Kural* was the fifth *Veda*. Siva pronounced it "*An Unfading Flower*." Kapilar said, "though the book was small, the meaning was extensive, even as in the drop of water on the top of a blade of grass might be seen reflected the image of a great tree." Paranan said, "the two feet stanzas of the poet measured the thoughts of all mankind, even as Vishnu, when incarnate as a dwarf, put one foot on earth, extending the other even to the heavens." Narkirar said, "the poet fully understanding the four subjects, virtue, property, pleasure, and paradise, was benevolently inclined to make others understand three of them as well as himself. The gratitude due to him is like that owed to the cloud that showers down fertilizing rain without requiring any thing in return." Mamulanar said; "this, as we thought stupid Pariah, is in reality no other than a god." Kaladanar remarked: "the book has the rare merit of harmonizing the suffrages of the six sects, who would all admit the system to be their own."—(See *Taylor's Manuscripts*, vol. I, p. 178.)

The work, though like all human compositions, it has its blemishes, is yet worthy of the attention of scholars as a production of intrinsic excellence, both as regards matter and manner. It is difficult to know to what sect the poet belonged. We are inclined to believe that he was not an orthodox Hindu. His first stanza has the word *Bhagavan*, which is properly neither a Saiva nor a Vedantic term. It indicates a being possessing attributes; and points not to an abstract but a personal Deity. He is said to be "the eternal God: the creator of all;" "possessed of pure knowledge," "who is without likeness:" "a gracious being, even a sea of virtue." The second stanza is thus translated by Ellis:—

What is the fruit that human knowledge gives,
If at the feet of Him who is pure knowledge,
Due reverence be not paid!

The third couplet has been the bone of contention amongst the learned commentators. We give Mr. Drew's translation of it, which is literal.

"They who are united to the glorious feet of him who passes swiftly over the flower (of the mind), shall flourish long above all worlds."

The expression, *He who passes swiftly over the flower (of the mind)*; or as Ellis renders it, "whose grace gladdens with sudden thrill the fervent heart:" has been explained by Vaishnavas to refer to Brahma, who is fabled to have sprung from a lotus, which originally grew from the navel of Vishnu. The Jains who claim the author to belong to their sect, adduce this verse in support of their claim, alleging that their God, the twenty-fourth *Tirthaka* called *Arugan*, (Sanskrit *Arhah*, meritorious) ascended up into heaven over a ladder of flowers. The great Saiva commentator paraphrases it thus: "He who passes suddenly over the lotus flower of the heart of those who think on him with affection, appearing to their minds' eyes in that form in which their several systems of religious belief tend their imagination to represent him."

We have known persons disposed to find fault with the following couplet:—

"To those who are united to the feet of Him who is without desire of aversion, evil shall never come."—*Drew*.

"To Him, whom no affection moves nor hate,
Those constant in obedience, from all ill
In this world and the next are free."—*Ellis*.

They say to represent the Divine Being as *one who is without desire or aversion*, is to deprive him of his moral character and make

him an irrational being ; forgetting, however, that the poet here simply alludes to what the Commentator beautifully points out, a being *who is not affected by any thing, nor averse from any thing*, i. e., a Being who is without bias, the All-pervading Spirit the universal witness, who takes cognizance of all things, whether good or evil, but is affected by none. Even our own Chrysostom has a similar idea : θεου μαλιστα ιδιον το ανευδεις. "It is God's peculiar property to stand in need of nothing." The expression *united to the feet of Him*, in this couplet and in the former, indicates, *worship, reverence and obedience*. "Evil shall never come to him who worships the true God." Man is said to be liable to evil (or affliction) from three sources, *viz.*, from himself, from others, and from God. It is from religion alone he can derive that the knowledge which delivers him from the first, raises him above the second, and averts from him the third.

The following couplet is so beautiful and true, that we cannot withhold it from our readers :—

"The anxious mind, against corroding thought,
 No refuge hath, save at the sacred feet
 Of Him to whom no likeness is."—*Ellis*.

Not merely, says the commentator, that there is none like the Deity, but that there is no similitude by which He can be described, no figure of human speech by which His nature can be expressed.

Since all virtue, wealth, and enjoyments, by divine appointment, depend on rain, the poet has written one chapter in its praise. We quote here the first and fifth couplets :—

"As by abundant rain the world subsists,
 Life's sole elixir (*ambrosia*) in this fluid know."

"It spreads destruction round ; its genial aid
 Again revives, restores all it destroys ;
 Such is the power of rain."—*Ellis*.

"Such is the power of rain." Drew renders it, "Rain does all this." Literally *all is rain*, "τα παντα το υδωρ."

In his chapter on the character of holy men, we have the following :—

"He who guides the five senses by the book of wisdom, will be a seed in the world of excellence."

In the following couplet the poet insinuates, that the virtuous man is the true Brahman, the great man. We think it a good definition of the word *gentleman*.

"The virtuous are truly called *andanar* ; (beautiful, gentle, a name given to Brahmans) because in their conduct to all creatures they are clothed in kindness."

In his chapter on *virtue*, there are some beautiful thoughts ; for example :—

“ That which in spotless purity preserves the mind, is *real* virtue ; all besides is evanescent sound.”

The paraphrase of this couplet by the Commentator is thus translated by Ellis :—“ Every species of virtue is included “ under the two general heads of domestic virtue and religious “ virtue. It is here said, that by purity of mind eminence and “ worth are obtained, and, that devotion or charity, and all other “ acts performed by one whose mind is not pure, have only the “ empty sound, and not the essence of virtue. The two signifi- “ cations of this *Kural* are thus distinctly shown. When thus “ explained, the truth and falsehood shine forth, and the true “ measure of virtue, whence substantial profit is derived, be- “ comes apparent, and if we reflect on this and act accordingly, “ the path leading to salvation will be seen. Although loss be “ sustained by the expenditure of vast wealth in the purchase of “ a false jewel, is it not yet a greater loss, after the wealth has “ been expended, the body emaciated, and the soul afflicted, that “ a few false virtues only, not current in heaven, should be “ collected. Avoiding this, therefore, and endeavouring to pre- “ serve that which is really profitable to the soul, reflect seriously “ on the purport of this *Kural* (couplet).”

This true description of virtue is followed up by the follow- ing injunction and recommendation :—

“ Refer not virtue to another day ;
Be virtuous now, and at thy dying hour
It will be to you a deathless help.”

“ Pleasure from virtue springs ; from all but this
No real pleasure e’er ensues, nor praise,”

His definition of virtue is simple, and if properly explained, is both intelligible and accurate :

“ Know that is virtue which each ought to do ;
What each should shun is vice.”

The Tamil word rendered by the English auxiliaries *ought* and *should* by Ellis, is rendered *meet* by Drew. It is derived from the root *hal*, *nature*, also, a *share* or *allotment*. Literally the first line may be rendered thus : *virtue is that which is natural or allotted for each to do*. This idea, divested of some peculiar opinions grounded on the assumption of transmigration and destiny, comes up to the golden rule of Christian morals : “ all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” Tiruvalluvar’s definition of virtue tallies with that of Dr. Chalmers, when he says, “ nothing is virtuous but what is done under a sense of duty, or done simply and

solely because it ought ;" nor does it contradict the dictum of Butler, the prince of moral philosophers, when he says : " he hath the rule of right within, all that is wanting is, that he honestly attends to it." The doctrine that *conscience is adapted to measure virtue, as a watch is adapted to measure time*, though not developed, is apparent in the writings of the Tamil moralist. Our common proverb, *the face is the index of the mind*, is illustrated by the Tamil Poet thus :—

" As the mirror exhibits the objects which come in contact with it, so the face exhibits the workings of the mind."

In a chapter on *Equity*, are the two following couplets :—

" To incline to neither side, but to rest impartial, as the even fixed scale, is the ornament of the wise."

" The true merchandize of merchants is to guard and do by the things of others as they do by their own."

In the chapter on *The Fear of Sin*, it is said that, " the enmity of sin will incessantly pursue and kill." " Destruction will dwell at the heels of those who commit evil, even as their shadow that leaves them not."

In the chapter on *Gratitude* we have the two following couplets :—

" Forget not the benevolence of the blameless. Forsake not the friendship of those who have been your staff in adversity."

" The wise will remember throughout their seven-fold births, the love of those who have wiped away the falling tear from their eye."

Tiruvalluvar was a believer in fate, and yet he says, " Although it be said that, through fate it cannot be attained ; yet labour, (perseverance) with bodily exertion, will yield its reward." " They who labour on, without fear and without fainting, will see even fate (put) behind their backs."

In a chapter on *Benevolence* he says :—

" As this world is not for those who are without wealth, so that world is not for those who are without grace."

With one more passage we shall dismiss our quotations from the *Kural*.

In the chapter on *True Knowledge*, the poet says :—

" Heaven is nearer than earth to those men of purified minds who are freed from doubt." One that could truly say and feel this sentiment, was certainly " not far from the kingdom of God."

In connexion with Tiruvalluvar, we have a female moralist in the person of his supposed sister called *Auvayār*. Her real name also is unknown ; the title by which she is called is ap-

propriated to aged matrons. She sang as sweetly as Sappho ; yet not of love, but of virtue. Beschi remarks that the "collection of moral sentences ascribed to her is worthy of Seneca himself. Her books are read in every village school, and her proverbial sayings are constantly quoted. Mr. Percival, in his *Land of the Vedas*, has given very good specimens of poetic translations from her writings, from the pen of the Rev. E. J. Robinson, of the Wesleyan Mission in North Ceylon. We are tempted to give a few examples of them :—

- " If suffering worth to acts of kindness move,
Forbid the doubt your bounty will not prove
A source at last of profit and delight.
The water furnished to its early root,
Ere long in sweeter draughts, from loads of fruit,
The cocoa's head will gratefully require.
- " The stream propell'd to where the rice crop grows,
Refreshes likewise, as it thither flows,
'The common grass that in its channel lies ;
In every age the genial rains that fall
To cheer the good, are thus enjoyed by all,
And virtue's revenue the world supplies.
- " To instruments the great their glory owe ;
The lofty are supported by the low ;
Without assistance, rank and skill were vain.
We spurn too oft the object we should prize :
The rice denuded, unproductive dies ;
The husk we scorn preserves the living grain.
- " 'Tis not in blood that genuine kindred lies,
From birth connexions that true friendships rise ;
Congenial disease may mortal prove.
Some distant mountain must the medicine yield,
By which alone our sickness may be healed ;
And strangers may desponding care remove.
- " While conscious of his fatal power to harm,
The guilty cobra hides in just alarm,
The guileless water-snake at large appears,
And so deceivers shunning public view,
In secret their perfidious schemes renew,
While artless innocence no danger fears.
- " Though loyal hosts the king's behest obey,
The grave philosopher bears ampler way.
While homage meets the sage wherever known,
And every step extends his spotless fame,
The monarch's title is an empty name,
Beyond the narrow realms that prop his name."

Indian moralists divide their science into four parts, *viz.*, *dharmā*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha*,—*i. e.*, virtue, riches, pleasure, and heaven. Tiruvalluvar treated of the three first ones in his work. He omitted the attainment of heaven, because

its nature could neither be conceived nor explained, wisely leaving it, as he ought, to a revelation from above. Aviyar, the sister of Tiruvalluvar, hearing that he had written 1,330 couplets, about three of the subjects, added the other, and compressed them all within the compass of one verse, which she is said to have repeated extempore :

“ To give is *virtue*. That which is acquired without sin is *riches*.
 The constant mutual affection whose tastes agree, is *pleasure*.
 To forsake those three in the contemplation of the Supreme
 Being is *heavenly happiness*.”

When she heard the character of her sex reviled, she is said to have repeated a stanza, the purport of which is:—“ All women would be good by nature, if the men did not spoil them : and most men would have a tolerable stock of sense, if the women did not make fools of them.” There is an account of the life and writings of this “ Tamil female philosopher,” by the Rev. Dr. John, Missionary at Traifquebar, in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Her *aphorisms*, or the “ golden alphabet,” as they are written in the order of the Tamil letters, making a very popular school book, in English and Tamil, have been published by the Rev. J. Sugden. We fear, however, we have not been doing our favourite authors justice, by representing their sayings in a foreign garb ; for no translations can adequately represent the originals.

The *Naladiyār* is a book containing 400 verses or epigrams on Morals. It is the production of some of the literati of the Madura college ; and is of equal authority with the *Kural*, though far inferior to it in sentiment and language. It derives its name from the nature of the four-foot stanza in which it is written. There is a legend about its having been preserved from a watery grave, given by Beschi and others, from which it is supposed to have derived its name ; but we do not think it worth relating.

There is the *Nidincrivilakam* and a host of other smaller books on Morals ; but we think we have said enough on this subject. We have a Tamil version of the *Naishadam*, but by no means equal to the Sanskrit original. The greatest original Tamil poem is the *Chintamani*, which is just being published at Madras. It is a moral epic of the highest merit. The commentator styles the author the master of all the learned. His name is not mentioned. He was a Jain, of whom Beschi remarks, that “ he may with justice be called the prince of Tamil poets.” *Chintamani* is an appellation of *Sivagan*, the hero of the poem. Many beautiful passages from it are quoted in *Ellis's Kural*. Examples of rhetorical figures are generally

given from it. From the specimen of the first part of the work, with a comment as learned as the text, which we have seen in print, we fear it will be tough reading.

There are very few original dramatic compositions in Tamil. But all the celebrated Sanskrit pieces are translated, even the *Prabódha Chandrodaya*, a Vedantic drama, which resembles *Bunyan's Holy War*. The Romanists have written a few religious dramas. There are Tamil treatises on arithmetic, logic, architecture and astronomy; but nothing of any importance. The language abounds in medical works, a list of which may be seen in *Dr. Ainslie's Materia Medica*, and is quoted in Dr. Ryle's book on Indian medicines. Agastiar is the Hippocrates of Hindustan, and is the great medical authority. An anonymous writer, quoted by Mr. Taylor, in his historical manuscripts, says of Agastiar: "According to his own declaration, it appears that he composed three millions of stanzas on the vanity of the world, and follies of the human race; one million on medicine; and two millions on alchemy; which latter was the principal theme of his study. Of his moral works, very few are in circulation, as the *Sannyásis*, who appeared in the succeeding ages, tried their utmost to keep them as secret as possible; and whenever they had an opportunity, they did not hesitate to commit them to the flames. In one of his moral cantos, entitled *Mupathu*, (or thirty stanzas) not unlike the Wisdom of Solomon, he gives ample reasons in refutation of the notions which the people of the world entertain about *Siva*, *Vishnu*, and *Brahma*; proves that penance, bathing, and self-immolation, are unnecessary (as the means) to obtain a passage to *Kailása* (paradise), and at last instructs men to worship *Parabrahma* (the Supreme Being)." A Tract called *The Wisdom of Agastiar*, containing thirty stanzas, printed and circulated by the Madras Tract Society, is evidently the production of some Romanist, who has closely imitated the style of the original,—for it plainly treats of the mosaic records of the creation, the fall of man, the nature of sin, and the Saviour in unmistakeable language;—and at the same time is mixed up with puerilities and mysticisms. Mr. Taylor quotes some of his original stanzas in the historical manuscripts; (*See vol. I., p. 171*), and properly remarks of him that, "at this distance of time, we can only regret that Agastiar, who seems to have approximated towards the truth, should have lived so late, when the pure truth had become disguised, falsified, and forsaken, or else that he did not live later, when, with a mind in some degree prepared, he might have caught the beams of truth fresh and pure from the original fountain."

Besides the Vedantic works, such as the *Bhagavat Gita*, the *Vāshistam*, the *Mahāvākyam*, and the Upanishads, we have the *Saiva Agamas* translated into Tamil. The most popular religious book of the Vaishnavas is the *Tiruvaymozgaly*, containing hymns of praise in honour of Vishnu, which are recited in temples by the Tamil Brahmans instead of the Sanskrit Vedic hymns. They are said to be composed by the twelve *dhvārs*, or disciples of Vishnu. They contain four thousand stanzas. The counterpart of this amongst the Saivas is the *Tiruvāsagam*, consisting of hymns in praise of Siva, sung in his temple by Siva Pandārams. It was composed by *Manikavāsagar*, the great champion of Saivism, who, in the ninth century overcame the Jains. Both these popular works, according to their names, signify *the Holy Word*, or *Sacred Scriptures*.

We have also a set of writers called *Judhis* or *Siddhas*.—sophis, or wise men, who have left the breathings of their soul in Poetry. These Tamil sages were men of enquiring and earnest minds, who were above the popular notions and superstitions, searching after immortality and happiness. The most popular amongst them are Sivavakiar, Patragiriar, Pattanathupillai, and Thāyumānār. One of the sages, after diving into the Vedas and Sastras, comes to the following conclusion :—

„ The systems all by ancient sages taught,
 The living light with truth declared not ;
 Their notions in conflicting theories fell,
 With demons' lied, they found their place in hell.”

One of them, a royal sage, thus laments :—

“ The Shastras being burnt up ;
 The four Vedas shown to be false ;
 The mystery being discovered ;
 When shall bliss be obtained ?”

In these and similar passages, we see some glimpses of truth, and the seeking of the mind after something which the philosophy of the world cannot give, and which must come from a higher source ;—“ for by no art whatever can the waters be made to rise higher than their fountain.”

The belief of a future state, and the knowledge of moral obligation, make up the sum of natural theology or philosophy of the world. But how dark and uncertain are the conflicting statements of sages and moralists on these grand and momentous points ! On these subjects there is no resting point for the soul, but in that system which “ brought light and immortality to light.” The wisest of the Greeks confessed his ignorance, and

deplored the want of a superior direction. "The world by wisdom "knew not God." Mr. Percival remarks, that "the Indian "literature in some of its moral features suffers nought from "comparison with the best ethical writings ever brought to "light." Admitting that some of the views of heathen moralists are just, there is one deficiency pervading the whole, that of *motive*, necessarily resulting from a state of uncertainty with regard to every thing regarding the future. What are the results of heathen philosophy; an ideal or material Pantheism. Even the philosophers themselves, who "professed to know God, glorified him not as God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." He who would know truth must himself stand in the truth. It has been well remarked by a writer in America, that "It is from above that we survey what is below, and not the reverse. It is only by means of truth that we can comprehend error; whereas error understands not even itself. *Verum index sui et falsi.*" Mr. W. Taylor remarks on the Hindu sages, that they were "men superior to popular notions, yet yielding to them to avoid popular odium." To have a thorough knowledge of the first principles of morals, it is necessary to know the deep seated disease of humanity; and "to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord," it is necessary to know the doctrine of grace by an Incarnate Saviour, of whom it might be truly said in the language of one of the Hindu sages,

"Multiplying love, Thou didst come to save my precious soul,
Thou art infinite bliss—O King—O God!"

Mr. Drew, in his Preface justly remarks, "that it cannot be "supposed necessary for the sake of Christianity to deny to such "works whatever degree of merit they may possess. Christianity requires not the aid of falsehood, or of concealment, "nor need we wish to blacken the systems and books of the "country beyond what truth will warrant; for even in the best "there is much and pernicious error. The *Kural* itself, esteemed "the best book of morals written by a Hindu, is an illustration "of this remark. The third part on Sensual Love could not "be read with impunity by the purest mind."

Though the palmy days of Tamil literature are gone by with the Madura Pandians, yet the works that remain are standing monuments by which we may estimate the capabilities of Hindu genius. Tamil learning is at present very little encouraged, and therefore neglected in our public schools. There are many native presses, however, at Madras, Ceylon, Pondicherry and other places, at work, from which are constantly issuing works,

good, bad, and indifferent. Dr. Graul, who was lately out in this country in connexion with the Leipsic Mission, is printing Tamil works in Germany. A first Tamil book, by the Rev. G. W. Pope, on Arnold's plan, is now in the press; and will, we are sure, prove a valuable help to beginners. Tamil literature is much indebted to Christian missionaries. It was the first language studied by them. We have had the Tamil Bible complete for more than a hundred years: we have a Tranquebar, Madras, Colombo, and a Tentative version. The name of Fabricius, as the translator of the Bible, and the composer of Tamil hymns, will long be gratefully remembered by the Indian church. We are not without our Christian poets and authors amongst the natives themselves. Our Christian literature consisting of histories, commentaries, divinitics, liturgies, sermons, is not to be despised; and these works are increasing very fast around us. We have books of science periodicals, and newspapers. There are various Societies whose object is to furnish us with school books. All that we want is the encouragement of vernacular schools by Government, and their establishment and vigorous working in every town and principal village. We want, moreover, our missionary educational Institutions to give prominence and encouragement to the accurate and careful study of the principles and literature of the language.

We have now done our task. But let the greatest European scholar, the famous Beschi himself, use his persuasive reasons, to urge the student to enter into the inner temple of the language, and see how its builders have perfected its beauty. Addressing the Jesuits, he says:—

“That the study will be one of considerable difficulty, I do not pretend to deny; but the labour will not want its reward. Among the natives themselves, very few can now be found, who are masters of the higher dialect. He among them who is acquainted even with its rudiments, is regarded with respect; but should he quote their abstruse works, he is listened to with fixed admiration; what praise, then, would they not bestow on a foreigner, whom they should find deeply versed in a science which they themselves consider scarcely attainable? They will readily attend to the teaching of one whose learning is the object of their admiration. And as this may evidently lead to the honor of religion, and promote the salvation of those about us, I am satisfied that this consideration alone, operating on zeal like yours, will suffice to excite you to the study of this dialect, notwithstanding the difficulties that attend it.”

"But since almost all the Tamil works in this dialect are
"in verse, I trust you will not deem it improper, if I venture
"to draw your attention to heathen poets, and to the study
"of poetry. In former times, *St. Jerome* was severely censured
"for having, by the introduction of examples from the poets,
"sullied the purity of the church with the pollutions of the
"heathen. *St. Jerome* in his learned reply, demonstrates, that
"the apostle *Paul* repeatedly cites from the poets, in his Epis-
"tles, and that the most exemplary among the fathers not only
"made frequent use of illustrations from the writing of laymen,
"but that, even by their own poetry, they, far from polluting,
"embellished the church. These remarks apply with particular
"force in this country, the natives of which are swayed not
"so much by reason as by authority; and what have we from
"their own authors to adduce in aid of truth, except the verses
"of their poets? For, since all their writings are in verse,
"they have reduced to metre their rules of art, and even the
"rudiments of their language: whence, they naturally suppose,
"that he who does not understand their poetry, is totally igno-
"rant. Moreover, there are excellent works in Tamil poetry,
"on the subject of the divine attributes and the nature of virtue;
"and if, by producing texts from them, we turn their own wea-
"pons against themselves, they will blush not to conform to the
"precepts of teachers in whom they cannot glory without con-
"demning themselves. If we duly consider what has been
"said, we shall be satisfied, that, in this country especially, it is
"highly proper in a minister of the gospel to read the poets,
"and to apply himself to the study of poetry."

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO ISLAM, AND THE CORAN IN ITS LAST MECCAN STAGE.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *The Coran.*

2. *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran von
C. F. Gerock. Hamburg und Gotha, 1839.*

HAVING in a previous paper traced the history of Mahomet to his flight from Mecca, we propose now to examine the portions of the Coran revealed during the last three years of his residence in that city.

It is in the Suras of this period that we first find any detailed mention of Christianity. The connection at that time professed by Mahomet with our holy Faith, never became closer, or materially altered. It will, therefore, be convenient here to review the entire relation of Christianity to Islam, without confining the enquiry to the Meccan period only of the prophet's life.

Though the Christians and their Prophet are frequently referred to in the Coran by name, yet extended notices of the narrative or doctrines of the Gospel are few, and scattered;—so few, indeed, that it will be possible (and we think it will prove interesting to the Christian reader) to enumerate them all.

The following is the fullest and the earliest account of the Gospel history; and was produced by Mahomet shortly after his journey to Tâyif. From its subject the Sura is entitled MARY, (Maryam), and opens thus:—

A commemoration of the mercy of the Lord unto His servant ZACHARIAS;—

When he called upon his Lord with a secret invocation.

He said;—Oh Lord! as for me, my bones are decrepit, and my head white with hoar hair.

And I have never prayed unto Thee, Oh Lord! unheard.

Verily, I fear my kinsmen after me; and my wife is barren. Wherefore grant unto me from thyself a successor,*

Who shall be my heir, and an heir of the Family of Jacob, and make him, Oh Lord! well pleasing.

* **ولي** In the parallel passage in Sura III, 38, the expression used is **ذرية** or *offspring*. Gerock would construe the passage as the prayer for an heir generally, and not from his own body, of which from the opening of his prayer it seems he had no expectation. He goes so far as to say that the prayer alludes probably to the marriage of Mary, his “ward,” or “foster-daughter,” (Pflegetochter) whose child he assumes (but seemingly on very insufficient grounds) would be his heir. *Christologie*, p. 20. We very much doubt this explanation, and would

Oh ZACHARIAS ! We bring thee good tidings of a son, whose name shall be JOHN ;

We have not made any to be called thereby before.*

He said ;—Oh Lord ! whence shall there be a son unto me, since my wife is barren, and I truly have reached the imbecility of old age ?

He said ;—So shall it be. Thus saith thy Lord,—It is easy unto me ; for verily I created thee heretofore when thou wast nothing.

He said :—Lord make unto me a sign. He said ;—This is thy sign ; thou shalt not speak unto any for three nights, † though sound in health.

And he went forth unto his people from the chamber, and he motioned unto them that they should praise God in the morning and evening.

Oh JOHN ! Take the Book ‡ with power ; and We gave him Wisdom, as a child,

And compassion from Us, and Purity ; and he was virtuous and dutiful unto his parents ; he was not overbearing nor rebellious.

Peace be on him the day he was born, and the day he shall die, and the day he shall be raised to life.

And make mention, in the Book, § of MARY, when she withdrew from her people into an eastern place.

And took a curtain to hide herself from them.

And We sent unto her Our SPIRIT, and he appeared unto her a perfect man.

She said ;—I seek refuge in the Merciful from thee if thou fearest God !

He said ;—Nay, verily, but I am a Messenger of thy Lord, that I may give unto thee a virtuous son ||

She said ;—How shall there be to me a son, and a man hath not touched me, and I am not unchaste.

He said ;—So shall it be. Thus saith thy Lord,—It is easy with me ; and We shall make him a sign unto mankind, and a mercy from us, for it is a thing decreed.

And she conceived him, and withdrew with him in the womb, unto a distant place.

And the pains of labour came upon her by the trunk of a Palm-tree ;

take the common sense of ذرية i. e. “ offspring to Zacharias himself.” The

Mussulman commentators do not stand on such difficulties. Abd al Cadir, the Urdu translator of the Coran, holds that Zacharias prayed “ in secret,” because at his advanced age, to have prayed *openly* for offspring, would have subjected him to ridicule !

* Evidently based on Luke i., 61.

† Compare Sura III, 41. In the Gospel, Luke i. 20, 64, the dumbness continues until after the birth of John.

‡ That is, the Old Testament. The verse is spoken by God Himself.

§ I. E., the Coran.

|| Gerock, (p. 37,) with much special pleading, endeavours to prove Mahomet's doctrine to have been that Gabriel was the father of Jesus by ordinary generation. The only expression which gives the shadow of a colour to this idea, is the one in the text, where Gabriel declares himself sent, “ that *I may give thee a virtuous Son.*” But from the parallel passage, (Sura III, 45) it clearly appears that no stress can be laid upon these words. The following is the account there given : “ When the Angels said, *Oh MARY ! Verily God giveth thee good tidings of the WORD from Him, JESUS, the Messiah, the son of Mary, &c.* She said whence shall there be a son unto me, and no man hath touched me ? He said,—Thus doth God create that which He pleaseth ; when He hath decreed a thing, He only saith unto it, *BE*, and it shall be, &c.

Besides, in both passages, after the announcement by Gabriel, the question of Mary as to how this should be, seeing that “ she knew not a man ” (Luke i. 34) ; and the reply of Gabriel that it would be by the Almighty power of God, are conclusive against any such meaning as that started by Gerock ; and show that Mahomet simply adopted the Gospel story as it was narrated to him, even to verbal coincidence.

It is farther clear from the phrases repeatedly applied in the Coran to Mary, as “ *she whose virginity we preserved*, and into whom WE breathed of Our spirit,” that Mahomet avowed the immaculate and supernatural conception of Jesus. Sura XXI, 91 ; and LXVI, 13 ; the former revealed at Mecca, the latter at Medina.

The expression, *التي احصنت فرجها*, which it is not necessary to translate literally, will satisfy the Arabic scholar, that Gerock's theory is utterly groundless.

She said,—Would that I had died from before this, and been forgotten, out of mind ! *
And there cried one from below her,—Grieve not thou ! verily thy Lord hath provided beneath thee a fountain :
And shake unto thee the root of the Palm-tree : it will drop upon thee ripe dates, ready plucked.
Wherefore eat and drink, and be comforted ; and if thou seest any man,
Say,—Verily I have vowed unto the Merciful a fast, and I will not speak to any man this day,
And she came with the child unto her people, carrying him ; they said,—Oh Mary ! Verily thou hast done a strange thing ;
Oh Sister of Aaron ! thy father was not an evil man, nor was thy mother unchaste.
And she pointed to the child. They said,—How shall we speak with him that is an infant in the cradle ! †
He (the child) said ;—Verily I am the servant of God ; He hath given me the Book, and made me a Prophet,
And made me blessed where-ever I may be, and hath commanded me (to observe) Prayer and Alms-giving while I remain alive,
And made me dutiful to my mother, and not overhearing nor wretched :—
Peace be on me the day I was born, and the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised alive !
This is Jesus, the Word of truth, § concerning whom they are in doubt.
It is not for God to take unto Him a Son :—Glory be to Him !
When He hath decreed a matter, He only saith unto it, Be, and it shall be. Sura, XIX.

There is but one other detailed account of the birth of Jesus in the Coran, || and that was delivered a few years before the death of Mahomet, on the occasion of an embassy to Medina

* Gerock, (*ibidem*), as it appears to us quite gratuitously, turns these words of natural anguish into a proof of his doctrine as to the paternity of Jesus.

† In Sura III., 33, she is likewise called *the daughter of IMRAN* : and it is therefore concluded by some, that Mahomet confounded Mary (Maryam) with the sister of Moses. The confusion of names is the more suspicious, as it is not favoured by Christian authority of any description,—the traditional names of Mary's parents being Joachim and Anna.

Gerock combats this idea at some length, (p. 24 ;) showing that Imrân is never named in the Coran as the father of Moses, nor Mary (Maryam) as his sister, and that Mahomet is seen elsewhere to be well aware of the interval between Jesus and Moses. The latter fact cannot, of course, be doubted. Mahomet could never have imagined that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the sister of Moses and Aaron. But it is still extremely probable that the confusion of this mis-nomenclature originated in the notions of Jewish informants, amongst whom the only notorious Mary, (Maryam) was the daughter of Imrân, and sister of Moses : and they would ordinarily give the name of *Maryam* those accompaniments. Mahomet adopted the phraseology (for his informants were mainly, if not solely, Jews,) without perceiving the anachronism it involved.

‡ The tradition that Jesus spoke in his cradle is referred to in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, ch. I. "Invenimus in libro Josephi Pontificis, qui vixit tempore Christi, Jesum locutum esse, et quidem cum in cunis jaceret, dixisseque matri suae Mariæ : Ego, quem peperisti, sum Jesus, filius Dei, verbum, quem admodum annuntiavit tibi angelus Gabriel, misitque me pater meus ad salutem mundi."—See Gerock, p. 47.

§ Or, "*a true saying, concerning which*," &c. ; the original. قول الحق is susceptible of both constructions.

|| Sura III., 33—54. This passage contains in much detail the birth of Mary, and Gerock has traced some approximations in it to the Apocryphal Gospels.

1. Mary's parents devoted her while in the womb to the Divine service, Sura III., 35, compared with Evang. de nativ. Mariæ :—"Voverunt tamen (ejus parentes) si forte Deus donaret eis sobolem, eam se Domini servitio mancipaturos."

2. God supplied her supernaturally with daily food, *Cnf. Protev. Jacob*, ch. 8 ; και ελαμβανε τροφην εκ χειρος αγγελου. So, *Hist. Nativ. Mar. et infant. Salv.* ; quotidie exa, quam de manu angeli accipiebat, &c, 3. The relatives of Mary cast arrows (lots) for her charge, Sura III., 44 ; compared with Ev. Nativ. Mar., cap. 6—8 ; *Protev. Jacob*, cap. 8, 9.

A common traditional source is thus apparent.—Gerock, p. 30.

from the Christian tribe of Najrân, the singular particulars of which will be alluded to below.

Of the *Life* of Christ, the particulars are unaccountably meagre, and mingled with fable : the passages too, in which they occur, belong solely to the prophet's later years at Medina. The object of the mission of Jesus to the Jews was to confirm their Scriptures, to modify and lighten some of the burdens of their Law, and to recall them to the true service of God. *

His miracles are thus described :—

On a certain day shall God assemble the Apostles, and
Say :—What reply was made unto you ? They shall say ;—
We know not, verily Thou art the Knower of secrets.

Then shall God say ;—Oh Jesus, Son of Mary ! call to mind My grace upon Thee and upon Thy MOTHER, when I strengthened Thee with the HOLY SPIRIT, that Thou shouldest speak with men in the cradle, and in mature life :—and when I taught Thee the Scripture and Wisdom, and the Law, and the Gospel ;—and when Thou formedst of clay like unto the figure of a bird by My permission, and thou blewest thereupon and it became a Bird by my permission :—and Thou didst heal the Blind and the Leper by My permission ; and when thou didst raise the Dead by my permission ;† and when I held back the Children of Israel from Thee at the time Thou showedst unto them evident signs, and the Unbelievers among them said,—Verily this is nought but manifest sorcery.

And remember when I spake by inspiration to the Apostles,‡ saying,—Believe on Me, and on My Apostle. They said,—We believe ; bear thou witness that we are Moslems. §

When the Apostles said,—Oh JESUS, SON of MARY ! is Thy Lord able to cause a Table to descend upon us from Heaven ? He said,—Fear God ; if ye be faithful. They said,—We desire that we may eat therefrom, and that our hearts be set at ease, and that we may know that Thou verily hast spoken unto us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof. Then spake JESUS, SON of MARY,—Oh God, our Lord ! send down unto us a Table from Heaven, that it may be unto us a Feast-day,|| unto the first of us and unto the last of us, and a sign from Thee ; and nourish us, for Thou art the best of Nourishers. And God said,—verily I will send it down unto you ; and whoever after that shall disbelieve amongst you, surely I will torment him with a torment wherewith I shall not torment any other creature.

And when God shall say,—Oh JESUS, Son of MARY ! didst Thou speak unto mankind saying,—Take Me and My Mother for two Gods besides THE LORD ? He shall say,—Glory be to Thee ! it is not for Me to say that which I know to be not the truth. If I had said that, verily thou wouldest have known it. Thou knowest that which is in Me, but I know not that

* Sura III., 49.

† These miracles are again recapitulated in Sura III., 48, with this addition ;—“ And I will tell unto you what ye eat, and what ye store in your houses, *i. e.*, as a proof of his knowledge of the invisible.

‡ *ألحواريين* used only of the Apostles of Jesus.

§ *i. e.*, those who have surrendered themselves unto God.

|| *عيدا*, An Eed, or religious festival recurring periodically.

which is in thee; verily, Thou art the Knower of secrets. I spake not unto them aught but what Thou commandedst Me, saying,—Worship God, My Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness unto them whilst I continued amongst them; and since Thou hast taken me away, Thou hast Thyself been their keeper, and Thou art a Witness over all things. If Thou punish them, verily, they are Thy servants, and if Thou have mercy upon them, verily, Thou art the Glorious, the Wise!

God will answer,—This is a day on which their truthfulness shall profit the truthful. They shall have Gardens with rivulets flowing through them, and remain therein for ever. God is well-pleased with them, and they well-pleased with Him. That shall be a great Felicity!*

This passage is remarkable as affording in the supernatural table that descended from heaven, the only possible allusion, traceable in the Coran, to the Lord's Supper. The tale is probably founded on some misapprehended tradition regarding "the Table of the Lord."†

To complete the miserable outline, it remains only to be added that Jesus escaped the machinations of the Jews, and was taken up alive to heaven. In a passage aimed at his Jewish enemies of Medina, Mahomet thus upbraids their rebellious forefathers:—

—And for their Unbelief; and for their having spoken against Mary a grievous calumny; and for their saying,—*Verily we have killed the MESSIAH, JESUS, son of MARY, the Apostle of God.* And they killed him not, nor did they crucify him, but he was simulated (in the person of another) unto them. And verily they that are at variance about him, are in doubt concerning him. They have no knowledge regarding him, but follow only a conjecture. And they slew him not certainly. But God raised him up unto Himself; and God is the Glorious, the Wise! And there is none of the People of the Book but shall believe in him before his death, and in the day of Judgment he will be a Witness against them.‡

In addressing the idolatrous Meccans, Mahomet appealed to the Ministry, Revelations, and rejection of Jesus, as he was wont to appeal to the history of other prophets, in analogy and support of his own Mission. His adversaries saw their

* Sura V., 118 to end.

† The singular fancy of the Traditionists and Commentators has created a host of miraculous accompaniments to this table;—fruit from the trees of Paradise, bread, meats, and fish, which, though broiled, were still alive, and for the convenience of the guests threw off their scales and bones!

The poor, lame, and wretched were invited to the feast, which lasted forty days. The commentators probably confounded the Lord's Supper with the feeding by Jesus of the multitudes.

‡ The purport of this last verse is obscure. It probably implies that the death of Christ will take place before the Judgment Day: and that the Jews will then be forced to believe in him.

opportunity, and replied that if Jesus, who appeared in human form, was worshipped by his followers, there could be nothing absurd, (as he would insist,) in their praying through images,—the representatives of heavenly powers,—to God. They exclaimed with delight that his whole argument thus fell to the ground ;—

And when JESUS, Son of MARY, was proposed as an example, lo ! thy people cried aloud,
And they said, What ! Are our own gods the best, or he ?

They have proposed this unto thee only as a cause of dispute ;

Yea, they are a contentious people !

Verily he was no other than a servant, upon whom WE were gracious, and WE made him an example unto the Children of Israel :—

[And if WE pleased WE could make from amongst yourselves Angels to succeed you upon Earth :] And verily he shall be for a sign of the last hour. Wherefore doubt not thereof, and follow me ; this is the right way.

And let not Satan obstruct you, for he is your manifest Enemy. *Sura XLIII.*, 56—60.

This was in fact the only position which, at the present advanced period of his Mission, Mahomet could consistently fall back upon ; and it was ever after carefully maintained. Some terms of veneration, in use among Christians, are indeed applied to Jesus, as “the WORD of God,” and “His SPIRIT which he breathed into Mary.”* But the Divine Sonship was steadfastly denied : the worship of Jesus by the Christians was placed in the same category as the supposed worship of Ezra by the Jews ; † and, in one place, the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly reprobated. It is a Medina Sura :—

Ye people of the Book ! Commit not extravagancies in your religion ; and speak not of God aught but the truth. For verily the Messiah, JESUS, Son of MARY, is an Apostle of God, and His WORD which He placed in Mary, and a Spirit from Him. Wherefore believe in God, and in the Apostles ; and say not, there are THREE. Refrain : it will be well for you. Verily the Lord is one God. Glory be to Him ! far be it from Him, that there should be to him a Son. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the Heavens and in the Earth ; and He is a sufficient Patron. The Messiah disdaineth not to be a Servant of God : neither the Cherubim that draw nigh unto Him. *Sura IV.*, 169. 170.

It may well be doubted whether Mahomet ever understood the real doctrines of Christianity. The few passing observations regarding our Faith to be found in the Coran, commence at a period when his system was already, in great part, matured, and seem founded upon information not only deficient but deceptive. The whole of his historical know-

* So *Sura IV.*, 169. “His WORD, which He placed in Mary, and a SPIRIT from Him.” John was to bear testimony to “the WORD from God,” *Sura III.*, 39. At the annunciation, the Virgin is thus addressed ;—“Oh Mary ! God giveth thee good tidings of THE WORD from Himself,—the Messiah, Jesus,” &c., *Sura III.*, 40. “WE breathed into her of OUR SPIRIT.” *LXVI.*, 13 : *XXI.*, 91.

† *Sura IX.*, 31.

ledge* (for whatever he knew, it was his practice to embody in the Coran,) is contained in the few extracts already before the reader; and whether regarded in its own meagre and apocryphal outlines, or compared with the ample details of Jewish history, both Scriptural and traditional, shows that the sources were singularly barren and defective. The Sacrament of Baptism is not even alluded to; and if there be an allusion to the Eucharist, we have seen it to be utterly disfigured, and well nigh lost in fable. The great doctrine of Redemption through the death of Christ was apparently unknown (for if it had been known and rejected, it would no doubt, have been combated in the Coran,) and His very crucifixion denied.

We do not find a single ceremony or doctrine of Islam in the smallest degree moulded, or even tinged, by the peculiar tenets of Christianity:—While Judaism has, on the contrary, given its colour to the whole system, and lent to it the shape and type, if not the actual substance of many ordinances.

But although Christianity is thus so remote from Islam as to have had practically no influence in the formation of its creed and ritual, yet in the *theory* of Mahomet's system, it occupies a place equal, if not superior, to that of Judaism. To understand this we must take a brief review of the development of the system itself.

In his first breathings of pseudo-inspiration, the prophet professed no distinct relation with any previous religion, excepting perhaps with the purer element in the national worship said to have been derived from Abraham, though grievously overlaid with idolatry and superstition. His Mission was simply to recall the Arabs to the service of the true God, and a belief in "the day of reckoning."

In process of time, he gained, through Jewish informants, some acquaintance with the existing Scriptures of the Jews and Christians, and the systems founded thereon. The new Revelation was now announced as concurrent with the previous "Books." The Coran was described mainly as an attes-

* Of the period subsequent to the ascension, the only trace of acquaintance with the spread of Christianity is in the story of the three Apostles (one of whom is supposed to have been Simon Peter,) who went to Antioch, and of one of their converts there who suffered martyrdom. *Sura XXXVI.*, 13—28.

The story of the seven sleepers, who slumbered 309 years, and then arose to find the idolatrous world Christianized, can hardly be classed under this head, though it shows the interest Mahomet was beginning to take in Christians. It will be found, with abundance of childish romance and fiction, in *Sura XVIII.*

Both Suras belong to the late Meccan period.

tation, in the Arabic tongue, and for the people of Mecca and its neighbourhood, of the preceding Scriptures. It was purely auxiliary in its object, and local in its action. From the attacks of the idolaters Mahomet sheltered himself behind the character and authority of those Scriptures, admitted in some measure even by the Meccans. When his work was abused as a "forgery" and an "antiquated tale," the most common and the most effective retort was ;—"Nay, but it is a confirmation of the preceding Revelation, and a warning in simple Arabic to the people of this land." The number, and the solemnity of such asseverations secured the confidence, or at least neutrality, of the Jews and Christians.*

But the system of Mahomet could not stop at this point. Was he not an Apostle, equally inspired with any of his predecessors? Was he not foretold, as the prophet that should arise, by Moses in the Pentateuch, and in the Gospel by Jesus? If he was, in truth, the last of the Apostles, would not his mouldings of the true faith remain permanent to the end of time? These conclusions were fast ripening in the mind of Mahomet: and their effect was to make the Coran rise superior in authority over both the Old and the New Testament.

Not that it was ever held to be superior *in kind* to either. All three are spoken of as "the word of God," and the belief in them inculcated on pain of hell fire.† But the Coran was the *latest* revelation; and, in so far as it pleased the Almighty to modify his preceding commands, was paramount.

But in this latter phase there are two stages. Mahomet did not at once substitute the Coran in supersession of the previous Scriptures. The Jew was still to follow the Law; he was to believe also in the New Testament and in the mission

* See Suras XLVI., 3—12; 30; VI., 93, 156; XXXVI., 6; XII., 11. There are many other similar passages.

† The New Testament is spoken of in the Coran under the Sole title of *Ingil* (Evangelium.) Gospel; and it is described as *given by God to Jesus*. Hence Gerock would conclude that Mahomet did *not intend* the Gospel in common use among Christians, which was revealed after the ascension of Jesus; but some other Gospel. (p. 91.)

The question, however, is not what might be deduced from a systematic and close construction of the expressions of a man grossly ignorant on the subject but what was his fairly inferrible meaning. And in this view it is evident from the whole tenor of the Coran, that by "the Gospel" Mahomet meant the sacred Scriptures in common and universal use amongst the Christians of his day. His igno-

recorded them. However, this may be, the same means in no wise indirect, that Mahomet, by the term Gospel, referred to the received Canon of Scripture as then current among Christians.

of Jesus. The Christian, too, was to hold fast by His Gospel. But both Jew and Christian were to admit equally the Apostleship of Mahomet and the authority of the Coran. The necessity, indeed, of conforming to their respective Scriptures, is urged upon them in the strongest terms. The Jews of Medina are repeatedly summoned "to judge by the Book," that is, by the Old Testament; and they are warned against the danger of accepting a part only of God's word, and rejecting a part. The following passages inculcate a similar duty on both Jews and Christians:—

SAV, Oh ye people of the Book! ye are not grounded upon anything until ye set up both the Law* and the Gospel, as well as that which hath been sent down unto you from your Lord.† - *Sura V.* 68.

And how will they (the Jews of Medina,) make thee their judge, since they have already by them the Towrât, wherein is the command of God, and have not obeyed it. They will surely turn their backs after that; and they are not believers.

Verily, we have sent down the Old Testament, wherein are a direction and a light. The Prophets that submitted themselves to God judged thereby the Jews: and the doctors and priests did likewise, in accordance with that portion of the Book of God, which WE committed to their charge; and they were witnesses thereof. Wherefore, fear not men, but fear ME, and sell not the Signs of God for a small price. AND WHOSOEVER DOT H NOT JUDGE BY THAT WHICH GOD HATH REVEALED, VERILY THEY ARE THE UNBELIEVERS.‡ And WE have written therein for them;—Verily life for life, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, tooth for tooth, and for wounding retaliation: and he that remiteth the same as alms, it is an atonement for him. AND HE WHO JUDGETH NOT BY THAT WHICH GOD HATH REVEALED, THEY ARE THE TRANSGRESSORS.§

And WE caused JESUS, the Son of MARY, to follow in their footsteps, attesting the Scripture, viz., the Towrât which preceded him: and WE gave him the Gospel wherein is Guidance and Light, attesting the Towrât which precedeth it, a Direction and an Admonition to the pious:—and that the people of the Gospel (Christians,) may judge according to that which God hath revealed therein. AND WHOSOEVER DOT H NOT JUDGE ACCORDING TO THAT WHICH GOD HATH REVEALED, they ARE THE WICKED ONES. ||

And WE have revealed to thee the Book¶ in truth, attesting the Scripture which precedeth it, and a custodian (or, witness) thereof. Wherefore judge between them in accordance with what God hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires away from that which hath been given unto thee.

To every one have We given a law and a way. And if God had pleased, He had made you all one people. But (He hath done otherwise) that He might try you, in that which He hath severally given unto you. Where-

* التوراة the Towrât. As used in the Coran, this word sometimes signifies the Pentateuch only, sometimes the entire Scriptures of the Old Testament held by the Jews. According to the context of this and the following passage, the latter meaning is intended.

† *I. e.*, the Coran.

‡ الكافرون الظالمون § الفاسقون || *I. e.*, the Coran.

fore press forward in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and He will tell you that in which ye disagree.

Judge, therefore, between them according to that which God hath revealed, and follow not their desires, and beware of them lest they tempt thee aside from a part of that which God hath revealed unto thee.—*Sura V.*, 50—57.

Thus each of the former revelations was not only to be believed in as the Word of God by all the faithful of whatever denomination, but to be directly used and implicitly observed by Jews and Christians respectively (as their guide and director) and by Mahomet himself in judging amongst them. In disputed and doubtful points, the Coran was to be admitted as a conclusive oracle.

In conformity with this expansive system, we find that, at a period long anterior to the Hegira, Mahomet propounded in the Coran the doctrine that a grand Catholic faith pervaded all ages and revelations—the pure features of which had been held in the boldest relief by the patriarch Abraham.* This primitive religion varied at each dispensation by accidental rites, comprised as its essential features, belief in the One true God, rejection of all idolatry or worship of Mediators as sharers in the power and glory of the Deity, and the implicit surrender of the will to God. Such surrender is termed “Islam;” and hence Abraham is called “the first of Moslems.” To this original Islam it was now the Mission of Mahomet to recall *the whole of mankind.*

Each successive Revelation had been abused by its votaries, who had quickly turned aside from the pure elements forming the groundwork of the dispensation. They had magnified or misinterpreted rites intended to be only collateral. By perverting doctrines, they had turned the gift of Revelation into a curse. They had fallen into a thousand sects, “each rejoicing in its own opinions,” and fencing itself round with intolerance and intense hatred.

Amidst the contending factions, truth might possibly be discovered by the earnest enquirer, but it would be with difficult, and uncertain steps. The Jew denounced the Christian, and the Christian the Jew. Some worshipped not only Jesus, but His mother: others held both to be mere creatures. From this labyrinth of confusion and error, it pleased the Almighty once again to deliver mankind. Mahomet was the Apostle of this grand and final Mission, and his judgment was to be

* See *Sura XVII.*, 120, 123. Connected with this Catholic faith is the doctrine that a prophet has been sent to every people. *Sura XXVIII.*, 60; *XXI.*, 36; *v.*, 57.

heard unquestioned amid the clash of opposing authorities. This in a Meccan Sura :—

He hath ordained unto you the Faith which He commanded unto Noah, and which We have revealed unto thee, and which We commanded unto Abraham and Moses and Jesus, saying, set up the Faith and fall not to variance.

And they fell not to variance until after the knowledge (of Divine Revelation,) had come unto them,* not of enmity among themselves; and if the word from thy Lord had not gone forth (respiting them) unto a fixed time, the matter had been decided between them. And verily they that have inherited the Book after them are in a perplexing doubt regarding the same.

Wherefore call them thereto (*i. e.*, unto the Catholic Faith;) and be steadfast as thou hast been commanded, and follow not their desires; and say, I believe in all the Scriptures which God hath revealed; and I am commanded to do justice between you. God is our Lord and your Lord. To us will be reckoned our works, and to you your works.† There is no ground of difference ‡ between us and you.—*Sura XLII.*, 12—15.

In this intermediate stage, Salvation was not confined to Islam, but would be obtained by every righteous man, whatever his religion, so as he abjured idolatry.

In the last period of development, the Coran rides triumphant over both the Law and the Gospel, and casts them unheeded into the shade. This, however, arose not from any express declaration, but from the necessary progress of the system. The popular impression which would attribute to Mahomet either the formal cancelment of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, or any imputation against their perfect genuineness and authority, is entirely mistaken. No expressions regarding them ever escaped the lips of Mahomet, but those of the most implicit reverence and highest eulogy. §

* This is a favourite idea repeated frequently in the Coran as in *Sura II.*, 254. The commentators are inclined to explain it of Islam, *viz.*, that Jews and Christians did not fall away till Mahomet came, and then they denied the prophet they had been expecting. But the idea seems to point rather to the perversion of former Revelations which, instead of leading men to the true faith, broke them up into opposing sects.

† That is,—“your works will not be vain and rejected as those of the idolators, but will be reckoned towards Salvation, equally with those of my own followers.”

‡ *أَسَد* “Ground of contention,” “quarrel,” “dispute.”

§ A pamphlet, we believe, is about to be published by the Agra Tract Society entitled, *The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures*, in which every text having any reference whatever to those Scriptures, will be quoted. It is clearly proved by this collection, that the strongest and most unequivocal testimony is borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as current in the time of Mahomet; that the evidence extends equally to their genuineness and authority; and that there is not a hint any where to be found as to their cancelment or interpolation.

It was the opposition of the Jews, and the cold suspicion of the Christians, as well as the martial supremacy of Islam over the Hejâz, that imperceptibly, but inevitably, led to the exclusive imposition of the authority of Mahomet and the Coran. The change that dispensed with previous Revelation was made in silence. In the concluding, as in the early days of his mission, Mahomet hardly ever refers to the former Scriptures. His scheme was complete, and rested now on other pillars. The steps by which he had ascended to his final elevation were left far behind and forgotten.

Islam, indeed, had in the later years of the prophet, been rapidly diverging from all sympathy with the Bible. An appeal to it would now have proved embarrassing: and it seems probable that his silence was in some degree intentional. Whatever effect the doctrines of Christianity, if properly understood, might have had on the mind of Mahomet when yet enquiring, and moulding for itself a creed, it is evident that long before the final settlement of Islam at the last Pilgrimage to Mecca, his system had hardened into a form in which it was impossible that any new influences could produce material alteration. Argument was not now tolerated. Mahomet was the Prophet of God. His word was law. Every opposing doctrine must vanish before the divine command.

The exclusive and growingly intolerant position of Islam is sufficiently manifested by the ban issued against the Jews and Christians, as unfit for the sacred rites and holy precincts of the Meccan temple; and by the Divine command to war against them until, in confession of the superiority of Islam, they should consent to the payment of a tribute.

It may be interesting to illustrate the practical treatment of Christianity by Mahomet, after his acquisition of political power, by describing some of the treaties entered into with Christian tribes. The following relates to the important Christian settlement of Najrân.

"And the Prophet of the Lord wrote to the Bishop of the "Bani Hârith, and the Bishops of Najrân, and their priests, "and all that followed them, and their Monks,—saying, that "they should continue in (the possession and practice of) every "thing small and great, as it then stood, in their churches, "their prayers, and their monasteries. The pledge of God and "of His prophet is given that no Bishop shall be removed from "his bishoprick, nor any Monk from his monastery, nor any

"Priest from his priesthood; that their authority and rights shall not be altered; nor any thing whatever which is customary amongst them; so long as they shall conduct themselves peaceably and uprightly. They shall not be burdened with oppression, neither shall they oppress."*

The narrative of the embassy of this people to Medina is in itself curious, and has a double interest from being referred to in the Coran. It is as follows †:—

A deputation of fourteen chief men, from Najrân repaired to Mahomet. Among them was Ackil or Abd al Masih, of the Bani Kinda, their chief, Abdal Hârith, their Bishop, and his brother Kurz, their guide. On reaching Medina, they entered the mosque, and prayed turning towards the east: and they were clothed in fine raiment lined with silk. Then the prophet called them: but when they came, he turned away and would not speak with them. And Othmân told them it was because of their dress. So they departed that day.

In the morning they came again clothed in their monastic dress and saluted Mahomet; and he returned their salutation, and invited them to Islam, and they refused; and words

* *Wâckidi*, p. 51½. At p. 56½ there is another treaty with the Christians of Najrân given in greater detail, and probably subsequent to the above. It is to the following effect: that Mahomet had commanded them to render tribute of all their fruits, yellow, white, and black (ripe and unripe?) and captives; but that he had generously commuted this for 2,000 suits of clothes of the value of an owkea (ounce of silver) each; 1,000 to be given every Prajab, and 1,000 to every Safar. Whatever exceeded or fell short of the value of an owkea to come into account; as likewise all armour, horses, camels and other goods taken from them by the Moslems. They were to entertain Mahomet's messengers (collectors) twenty days or less, but not to detain them beyond a month.

When there was war in Yemen they were to lend Mahomet thirty suits of armour, thirty horses, and thirty camels, and any that were lost were to be made good by Mahomet's people.

On the part of Mahomet, the guarantee of the Prophet of the Lord was given for their lives, religion, lands and property,—the absent as well as the present,—and for their Churches and places of prayer. No Bishop to be removed for his

bishoprick, nor any Monk from his monastery; nor any minister (واقف) from his ministry (وقفية). Everything, little and great, to remain as it then was.

No claim of blood prior to Islam to be allowed. Claims of right to be decided justly. Whoever took interest was free from Mahomet's guarantee.

"Now for all that is written in this paper, there is the protection of God and his prophet, for ever until the Lord send forth His command (i. e., the day of judgment) if ye deal uprightly and conduct your affairs properly, ye shall not be burdened with injury." Abu Sofian, and five others witnesses.

† The statement is given from *Wâckidi*. Hishâmi (p. 200) has encompassed his version of it with numerous puerile additions in favour of Islam, such as that their Bishops had with them books inherited from their predecessors and bearing the seal of each successive bishop, in which a notice of Mahomet was found; imaginative conversations between Mahomet and the party to the discomfiture of the altar, &c.

and disputation increased between them. And Mahomet recited to them passages from the Coran, and said :—"If ye deny that which I can say unto you, *come let us curse each other.*" So they went away to consider the matter. And on the morrow Abd al Masih, with two of the chief men, came to Mahomet and said : "We have determined that we shall not curse with thee ; wherefore command regarding us whatsoever thou wilt, we will give it ; and we will enter into treaty with thee. So he made a treaty with them ;* and they returned to their cities. But in the evening Ackil with a companion went back to Mahomet and professed Islam, so they were received and entertained in the house of Abu Ayûb the Adjutor. †

The incident is thus alluded to in the Coran :—

Verily, the analogy of Jesus is with God, like unto the analogy of Adam. He created him out of the dust, then said unto him *BE*, and he was. This is the truth from thy Lord : wherefore be not thou amongst the doubters.

And whosoever shall dispute with thee therein after that the true knowledge hath come unto thee ; say—*Come let us call out (the names) ‡ of our sons and your sons, of our wives and your wives, of ourselves and yourselves ; then let us curse one the other, and lay the curse of God upon those that lie !*

Verily this is a true exposition. There is no God but the Lord, and verily God is mighty and wise. And if they turn back, verily God is acquainted with the evil doers.

SAY ;—Oh ye people of the Book ! come unto a just sentence between us and you, *that we shall not worship aught but God, and that we shall not*

* The particulars of the treaty are similar to those in the previous note.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 69. The subsequent history of the Najrân Christians is then traced. They continued in possession of their lands and rights under the treaty during the rest of Mahomet's life, and the whole of Abu Bakr's Caliphate. They were accused of taking usury, and Omar expelled them from the land and wrote as follows :—

"The despatch of Omar, the Commander of the Faithful, to the people of Najrân. Whoever of them emigrates is under the guarantee of God. No Moslem shall injure them,—to fulfil that which Mahomet and Abu Bakr wrote unto them.

"Now to whomsoever of the chiefs of Syria and Irâc they may repair, let such chiefs allot them lands, and whatever they cultivate therefrom shall be theirs ; it is an exchange for their own lands. None shall injure or maltreat them ; Moslems will assist them against oppressors. Their tribute is remitted for two years. They will not be troubled except for evil deeds."

Now some of them alighted in Irâc, and settled in Najrân, near to Cufa, (p. 69.)

That the offence of usury is alleged in justification of this measure, appears to us to disprove the common tradition of the command said to have been given by Mahomet on his death-bed, that the Peninsula was to be swept clear of all other religions but Islam.

‡ Sale has it—*Let us call together.* But if the text is rightly referred to the occasion of the Najrân embassy, it can only mean to "call over and curse the names," because the wives and sons of the embassy were not at hand to summon.

associate, any with Him, nor shall we take any of us the other for Lords besides God And if they turn back, then bear witness, saying—Verily—WE are the true believers.—*Sura III*, 57—63.

It was surely a strange manner of settling the question which the Arabian Prophet proposed, and we have no reason to be ashamed of the Christian embassy for declining it. Still we cannot but see in the passage the earnestness of Mahomet's belief, and his conviction that a spiritual illumination had been vouchsafed to him, bringing with it knowledge and certainty vouch to the Christian all was speculation and conjecture.

Another Christian embassy was received from the Bani Taghlib. "It was formed of sixteen men, some Moslems and some Christians. The latter wore crosses of gold. And the prophet made terms with the Christians, stipulating that they should themselves continue in the profession of their religion, but should not baptize their children in the Christian faith."*

These narratives clearly show the terms of sufferance upon which, at the last, Mahomet permitted Christianity to exist. It was indeed less obnoxious to him than Judaism, because he did not experience from it such persevering and active hostility. Hence the Clergy and Monks are spoken of in terms of comparative praise.† But, after all, his grand object was entirely to *supersede* Christianity as well as Judaism, and the professors of both were equally subjected to a humiliating tribute.

The stealthy progress by which this end was reached, has now

* *Wäckidi*, p. 61½. The account of the embassy of the Bani Hanifa is more decidedly unfavourable to Christianity, but its details appear of doubtful authority. Moseilama, the false prophet, was among the number, and there are some anticipations of his sacrilegious claims.

As the embassy were departing, "Mahomet gave them a vessel in which were the leavings of the water with which he had performed his lustrations; and he said: *When you reach your country, break down your church and sprinkle its site with this water, and make in its place a mosque.* And they did so, and the vessel remained with Al Ackâs. And the Muedzzin called to prayers. And the monk of the church heard him, and he exclaimed—*it is the word of truth and the call of truth!* and he fled. And that was the last of the time (of Christianity.) *Wäckidi*, p. 62.

The story appears unlikely, because nowhere else is Mahomet represented as exhibiting such antagonism to Christians and their Churches, when they submitted themselves to him.

† See *Sura LVII.* 27. "And WE caused Jesus, son of Mary, to succeed them, and WE put into the hearts of those that followed him compassion and mercy; and the monastic state—they framed it for themselves (WE did not command it unto them) simply out of a desire to please God," &c.

So *Sura V.* 77. "And thou wilt find the most inclined amongst them to be believers, to be those who profess Christianity—This because there are amongst them Clergy and Monks, and they are not proud; and when they hear that which hath been revealed unto the prophet, thou shalt see their eyes flow with tears, because of what they recognize therein of the truth," &c.

been made clear. He first confirmed the Scriptures without qualification or reserve. The next asserted for his own revelation a parallel authority, and by degrees a superseding or dispensing power. And, finally, though he never imputed error to the Scripture itself; or (though ceasing to appeal with former frequency to its evidence,) failed to speak of it with veneration, he rejected all the Christian dogmas, and demanded their rejection by his Christian followers, on the simple evidence of his own inspiration. Assuming, perhaps, that the former Scriptures could not be at variance with the mind of God as now revealed to himself he cared not to verify his conclusions by a reference to "the Book." A latent consciousness of the weakness of his position probably rendered him unwilling honestly to face the difficulty. His course was guided here, as it was guided at so many other points, by an inexplicable combination of earnest conviction and uneasy questioning, if not of actual though unperceived self-deception. He was sure as to the object; and the means could not be wrong.

It may be useful to enquire briefly from what probable sources Mahomet obtained his meagre and deceptive information of Christianity.

One of the most remarkable traits in the teaching of the Coran is, that Jesus was not crucified, but one resembling him, and mistaken by the Jew, for Jesus. This fact is alleged, as we have seen,* not in contradiction of the Christians; but, *in opposition to the Jews*, who gloried in the assertion that Jesus had been put to death by their nation. Hence it would almost seem that Mahomet believed his teaching on this head to be accordant with that of the Christian Church; and that he really was ignorant of the grand doctrine of the Christian faith,—Redemption through the death of Christ.

The singular correspondence between the allusions to the crucifixion in the Coran, and the wild speculations of the early heretics, has led to the conjecture that Mahomet acquired his notions of Christianity from a Gnostic teacher. But Gnosticism had disappeared from Egypt before the sixth century, and there is no reason for supposing that it had at any time gained a footing in Arabia. Besides, there is not the slightest affinity between the supernaturalism of the Gnostics and Docetæ, and the sober rationalism of the Coran. According to the former, the Deity must be removed far from the

gross contact of evil matter. The Æon Christ, which alighted upon Jesus at his baptism, must ascend to its native regions before the crucifixion. With Mahomet, on the contrary, Jesus was a mere man,—wonderfully born, indeed,—but, still an ordinary man, a simple servant of the Almighty as others had been before him.* Yet, although there is no ground for believing that Gnostic doctrines were inculcated on Mahomet, it is possible that some of the strange fancies of those heretics, preserved in Syrian tradition, may have come to the ears of his informants (the chief of whom, even on Christian topics, seem to have been Jews, and been by them adopted as a likely and convenient explanation of the facts which formed the great barrier between Jews) and Christians. The Israelite would have less antipathy to the Catholic faith of Islam and the recognition of the mission of Jesus, if allowed to believe, that Christians as well as Jews, had been in error, and that His people had not, in fact, put Jesus, the promised Messiah, to a shameful death: but that, like Enoch and Elijah, he had been received up into heaven. "Christ crucified" was still, as in the days of Paul, "the stumbling-block of the Jews." But here the stumbling-block was at once removed: and without any offence to his national pride, the Jew might confess his belief in this emasculated Christianity. It was a compromise that would readily and strongly approve itself to a Jewish mind already unsettled by the prophetic claims of Mahomet.

By others it has been attempted to trace the Christian stories of the Coran to certain apocryphal Gospels supposed to have been within the reach of Mahomet. But though some few of the details coincide with these spurious writings, the great body of the facts in no wise does so.† Whereas, had there been a ready access to such books, we cannot doubt that Mahomet would, as in the case of Jewish history and legend, have borrowed largely from them.

Gerock, after weighing every consideration, concludes that Mahomet acquired his knowledge from no written source, but from Christian tradition *current among the people of Arabia*:—

Am gerathensten möchte es daher wohl seyn, die Berichte

* This subject has been well discussed by Gerock, who shows the utter incongruity of Islam with Gnosticism, (p. 11.) Der positive besonnene character des Islam ist den Gnostischen speckulationen gänzlich zuwider." (p. 12.)

See Gerock, p. 8. The "Gospel of Barnabas" is of course excepted, because it is the modern work of a Christian Apostate to Islam. "Aber es ist gewiss, des dies Evangelium das Werk eines Betrügers ist, der erst lange nach Mohammed, vielleicht in Italien selbst, lebte, und sich bemühte, den Erzählungen des Koran und der Mohammedanischen Schriftsteller durch eine angeblich Christliche Unterlage mehr Ansehen und Glaubwürdigkeit zu verschaffen." (p. 9.)

des Koran über den stifter der Christlichen Religion aus der Tradition zu erklären. Es scheint nämlich, das Mohammed seine Berichte über Christus und einige andere, unbedeutende Erzählungen aus der Christengeschichte weder aus schriftlichen quellen, als kanonischen oder apokryphischen evangelien, noch aus bestimmten mündlichen mittheilungen, sondern vornämlich aus einer in seinem Vaterlande umhergetragenen Volkstradition schöpfte—Page 13.

As the sole source of information this appears to us insufficient. There is no ground for believing that either at Mecca or Medina there existed elements of Christian tradition from which could have been framed a narrative agreeing, as that of the Coran does, in many points, and even in several of its expressions, with the Gospels genuine and apocryphal, while in others it follows or outstrips the popular legend.

But tradition quite sufficient for this end survived in the southern confines of Syria, and no doubt reached Mahomet through both a Jewish and a Christian medium. The general outline of the Christian story in the Coran, having a few salient points in accordance with the Gospel, and the rest filled up with wild marvels, is just such as we might expect an enquiring Jew to learn from the traditions of the lower classes in Judea. The Christian slaves of Mecca, too, had generally been ravished from their homes in boyhood, and would remember little more than a few Scripture stories, with perhaps some fragments of the creed. Either the Jew or the Christian may also have heard the opening of the Gospel of Luke, and communicated to Mahomet the outline of the birth of John and Jesus, which he transferred to the Coran. It is also *possible* that some one may have repeated to Mahomet from memory, or read from a manuscript, those verses of the Gospel;—but this is a mere conjecture, and in itself improbable.*

Mahomet's confused notions of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost, seem most naturally to have been received through a Jewish informant, himself imperfectly acquainted with the subject.

It is not very apparent from the few indistinct notices in the Coran what Mahomet believed the Christian doctrine of the Trinity to be. In a passage above quoted, Christians are reprobated for "taking Jesus and his Mother for two gods

* It is unlikely that any Arabic translation of the Scriptures, or any part of them, was ever within Mahomet's reach, notwithstanding the traditions regarding Waraca. See *Life of Mahomet from his Youth to his Fortieth Year*, p. 26. If there was such a translation, it must have been imperfect and fragmentary.

besides the Lord.* It is hence concluded that the Trinity of the Coran was composed of the Father, Mary, and Jesus. Such may be the case, but it is not certain. Zealous Protestants sometimes use language resembling the verse just quoted, without imputing to their adversaries any error in their views of the Trinity. The reverence and service for Mary had long been carried to the pitch nearly of Divine worship, and the "orthodox" party had hotly persecuted those who would not accord to her the title of "the Mother of God."† Mahomet might therefore censure the Christians for "taking Jesus and his mother for two Gods," without adverting to the Trinity.

On the other hand, the only passage in which the Trinity is specifically mentioned,‡ makes no allusion to the divinity of the Spirit: nor are the expressions "the Spirit," and "the Holy Spirit," though occurring in numerous texts throughout the Coran, ever used as if in the errors of Christianity they signified a Person in the Trinity. The phrase, as we have seen in a former paper,§ commonly meant Gabriel, the messenger of God's revelations to Mahomet. And it is possible that a confusion, in the prophet's mind, of the Holy Ghost with Gabriel, may have arisen from the annunciation of the Saviour by the latter, while he is also stated to have been conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost.|| The term is also repeatedly used in a more general sense as signifying *the Spirit of inspiration*.¶ It was the divine "Spirit" breathed into the clay, which gave life to Adam,** and Jesus, who like Adam, had no earthly father, is also "a Spirit from God" breathed into Mary.†† When it is said that God "*strengthened Jesus with the Holy Spirit*," ‡‡ we may perhaps trace the use of current Christian speech, not inconsistent with Jewish ideas. §§

The assurance with which Mahomet appeals to Jews and Christians as both professing in their Scriptures, the promise

* Sura IV., 169.

† Worship had been paid even to images of the Virgin and of Jesus from the 4th century. In the 6th century Gregory vainly endeavoured to prohibit the *worship*, while he encouraged the *use* of such images.—See *Waddington's History of the Church*, Vol. I., p. 295.

‡ Sura V., 109.

§ *Extension of Islam*, p. 23.

|| *Luke i.*, 35.

¶ Sura XVI., 2; XL., 16; XLII., 52.

** Sura XV., 29.

†† Sura XXI., 91; LXVI., 13; IV., 169.

‡‡ Sura II., 87, 254; V., 119. So LVIII., 22. See also other passages quoted in the note at page 23 of the *Extension of Islam*.

§§ Compare Psalm LI., 12; "Uphold me with thy free Spirit." Gerock, though not alluding to the same expression, comes to a similar conclusion: "Das der heilige Geist der Christen dem Mohammed hier dunkel vorsich webte, ist einleuchtend besonders wenn wir bedenken, wir derselbe in dem Besuche bei Maria mit Gabriel in eine Person verschmilzt." (p. 79.)

of a prophet to come; whom, if they only put aside their prejudices, they would recognize in Mahomet, "as they recognized their own sons," is very singular, and must have been supported by ignorant or designing men of both religions. It would seem that Mahomet seized upon two kinds of expectation of the most different, and indeed, incompatible character, and adroitly combined them into a cumulative proof of his own Mission. The Jewish anticipation of a Messiah was fused by Mahomet, together with the utterly discordant anticipation by the Christians of the second Advent of Christ, into one irrefragable argument of a coming prophet, expected both by Jews and Christians, and foretold in all the Scriptures.

That the promise of the Paraclete was capable of perversion, we see in the heresy of Montanus, which made much progress at the close of the second century. It would seem that a garbled version of the same promise was communicated to Mahomet, and thus employed by him:—

And call to mind when JESUS, Son of MARY said;—Oh Children of Israel! Verily, I am an Apostle of God unto you, attesting the Towrât revealed before me, and giving good tidings of a prophet that shall come after me, whose name is AHMAD.*

The prophecy of Moses to the Israelites:—"God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, *of thy brethren*, like unto me,"† may plausibly enough have been adduced by a perverted Jew in favour of the Arabian Prophet.

That he was the Prophet promised to both people, lay at the root of the Catholic system so strongly inculcated by Mahomet in his middle stage; and there is no reason to doubt that the assumption was implicitly believed by himself.

From this review it appears to be highly probable, that Mahomet gained his chief knowledge of Christianity by the same Jewish medium, through which, at an earlier period, his more copious information of Jewish history reached him. His Meccan adversaries did not conceal their strong suspicion that the prompting from which the Scriptural or legendary tales proceeded, was not solely that of a supernatural inspiration. They openly imputed the aid of strangers:—

From whence shall there be an admonition for them; for, verily, there hath come unto them an evident Apostle:
Then they turn from him and say,—*One taught by others, a madman!* ‡

* Sura LXI., 6. This is another form of the root *Muhammed*, signifying like it, "the Praised." See John XVI., 7, where *παράκλητος* may have been rendered *περικλυτος*.

† *Deut.* XVIII., 15.

‡ Sura XLIV., 14.

And the unbelievers say ; *Verily, this is a fraud which he hath fabricated ; and other people have assisted him therein.* But they say that which is unjust and false. They say ; *They are Fables of the Ancients which he hath had written down ; which are dictated unto him Morning and Evening.**
Say :—He hath revealed it who knoweth that which is hidden in Heaven and in Earth. He is forgiving and merciful.†

And verily We know that they say,—*surely a certain man teacheth him.* The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign, but this is in the tongue of simple Arabic.‡

Whatever the rough material, its passage through the alembic of "simple Arabic" converted it at once into a gem of unearthly water. The recitations of a credulous and ill-informed Jew, re-appeared as the inspirations of the Almighty, dictated by the noblest of his heavenly messengers. The wild legend and the garbled Scripture story of yesterday, come forth to-morrow as a portion of the divine and eternal Coran !

And, however strange it may appear, the heavenly origin of his revelations, obtained though they were from such a fallible and imperfect source, was sincerely believed by Mahomet himself. It would be against the analogy of his whole life, to suppose that there was here a *conscious* fraud. Occasional doubts and misgivings, especially when he first submitted to Jewish prompting, there may have been, but a process similar to that by which he first assured himself of his own inspiration, would quickly banish them.

But the ignorance which covered so strange a deception in his early prophetic life, cannot be pleaded for his later years. The means of reaching a truer knowledge lay plentifully now within his reach. But they were not heeded, or rather were absolutely rejected, because a position had been taken up from which he could not, with credit or consistency, recede. Was not his own inspiration as sure as the recorded revelations of preceding prophets ; was it not far more authoritative than the uncertain doctrines deduced from them by their erring adherents ? Ignorance thus became wilful. Light was at hand ; but Mahomet preferred darkness. He chose to walk "in the glimmerings of his own fire, and in the sparks which he had kindled."

The connexion of Christianity with Islam has led us to

* Abdool Cádír translates, "*which are written out beside him morning and evening*;" and thinks it necessary to add the following explanatory note :—"At first the times of prayer were appointed for the morning and evening. The Moslems used at those times to gather about the prophet. Whatever new passages of the Coran had descended, they used to write down with the object of remembering them. The unbelievers thus misrepresented them."

† Sura XXV. 5, 6.

‡ Sura XVI., 103.

follow the system of Mahomet to its full development at Medina. But our review of his life has reached only to his flight from Mecca; and before dismissing that portion of his career, it is proper to enquire at this point, what his general teaching was, and what had been its effects.

The Coran still continues* to be made up, as before, of arguments in refutation of idolatry and the idle objections of the Meccan people; of the proofs of God's Omnipotence, Omniscience and Unity; of the vivid picturings of the Judgment, Heaven, and Hell; and of legendary and Scriptural stories. The great verities of a minute and Over-ruling Providence, and of a final Retribution, are sometimes illustrated by passages of exquisite imagery and living poetry. The bold impersonation of THUNDER, in the following quotation (which may be taken as a sample of the better portions of the period,) has given its name to the Sura from which it is taken:—

Verily God changeth not His dealing with a People, until they change that which is in their Souls. And when God willeth Evil unto a People, there is none that can turn it away, nor have they any Protector beside them.

It is He that showeth you the Lightning to inspire Fear and hope; and raised the heavy clouds.

The THUNDER doth celebrate His praise, and the Angels also, from awe of him. And He sendeth forth His Bolts and shivereth therewith whom He pleaseth, while they are wrangling about God: for He is terrible in might!

He only is rightly invoked. And those whom they invoke beside Him answer them not at all, otherwise than as one stretching forth both hands unto the Water that it may reach his mouth, and it reacheth it not. So is the invocation of the unbelievers founded only in error.

And to God boweth down in worship whatsoever is in the Heavens, and in the Earth voluntarily and by force, and their Shadows likewise in the morning and in the evening.†

Say;—Who is the Lord of the heavens and of the Earth; Say—GOD. Say: Wherefore, then, do ye take besides Him guardians who have no power to do their own-selves a benefit nor an injury. Say;—What! Are the Blind and the Seeing equal? What! is the Darkness equal with the

* The Suras of this period (*i. e.*, from the 10th year of the Mission to the Hegira) may be approximately classed as follows: 63 (in chronological order) LL; 64, XLVI; 65, LXXII; 66, XXXV; 67, XXXVI; 68, XIX; 69, XVIII; 70, XXVII; 71, XLII; 72, XL; 73, XXXVIII; 74, XXV; 75, XX; 76, XLIII; 77, XII; 78, XI; 79, X; 80, XIV; 81, VI; 82, LXIV; 83, XXVIII; 84, XXIII; 85, XXII; 86, XXI; 87, XVII; 88, XVI; 89, XIII; 90, XXIX; 91, VII. The Suras at the close of this list become some of them very long, and include portions given forth at Medina, and added to them there. One striking feature of the closing Meccan Suras, is the frequent allusion to the approaching emigration of himself and his followers.

† This a conceit Mahomet is fond of; the Shadows perform obeisance to God, being long and prostrate in the morning, rising during the day, and again elongating in prostration in the evening.

Light? Or do they give partners unto God that have created like unto His creation so that the creation (of both) appear alike in their eyes? Say:—God is the creator of all things. He is **THE ONE**; the **AVENGER**!

He bringeth down from on high the Rain, and the Valleys flow, each according to its measures: and the Flood beateth the swelling Froth. And from that which men melt in the furnace, to make ornaments or vessels, ariseth a Scum, the like thereof. Thus doth God compare the Truth with Falsehood. As for the SCUM it passeth away like Froth: but that which benefiteth mankind remaineth on the Earth.

Thus doth God put forth similitudes.*

The positive precepts of this period are still very limited. The five times of prayer, it is said, were imposed by God on the prophet's ascent to heaven, one or two years before the Hegira.† All kinds of flesh were permitted for food, *if killed in the name of the Lord*,‡ but the blood, and that which dieth of itself, and the flesh of swine, were strictly prohibited.§

While a few superstitions, by which the meat of animals was under certain circumstances held by the Arabs to be unlawful, || were denounced, and the practice of compassing the holy temple naked was proscribed as the device of Satan, ¶ the rites of Meccan pilgrimage were maintained: and enjoined as of divine command and propitious to true piety. It is probable that the Jews strongly objected to this new feature of the Reformed Faith, and we accordingly find a laboured defence of

* *Sura XIII.*, 13—19.

† As yet, however, the five periods are nowhere distinctly commanded in the Coran. The nearest approach to such command is the following:—"Wherefore patiently bear with what they say, and celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the Sun, and before its setting: and praise Him sometime in the night and in the extremities of the day, that thou mayest be pleasing unto him." *Sura XX.* 129. By *the extremities of the day*, is naturally understood the fall of day, and day-break. But some—to reconcile the passage with the prescribed hours,—interpret it as signifying *nud-day*, at which as it were the day is divided into two parts.

‡ The same motives led to this condition as to the Apostolical admonition to abstain from "pollutions of Idols," and "meats offered to Idols." (*Acts XV.*, 20, 29.) The prohibition seems to point to the heathenish practice of the Meccans slaying their animals as a sacrifice to, or in the name of their Deities. *Suras XVI.*, 115; *VII.*, 118, 121, 145.

§ References as above. The influence of Jewish habit and precept is here manifest. As to the references in the *later* Suras, it is to be remembered, that they were composed close upon the Hegira, and the habit now began of throwing into a former Sura passages connected with its subject. It is possible, therefore, that some of what we quote as Meccan, may have been in reality early Medina verses given forth after the emigration.

|| See *Sura V.*, 112, where the names of the forbidden animals are quoted. *VI.*, 136, 144; *X.*, 59. See also the note at page 24 of the *Forefathers of Mahomet*.

¶ *Sura VII.*, 27-23. This was connected with the Homs: see *Forefathers of Mahomet*, page 20.

the innovation which it may be interesting to place before the reader.

And call to remembrance when WE gave to Abraham the place of the Temple (at Mecca) ; saying, join not in worship anything with me, and purify my house for them that compass it, and for them that stand up and bow down to pray.

And proclaim unto mankind a pilgrimage, that they may come unto thee on foot, upon every lean camel,* flocking from every distant road :—that they may testify to the benefits they have received, and commemorate the name of God on the appointed days upon the brute beasts which WE have given them for a provision :—Wherefore eat thereof and feed the wretched and the poor. Then let them stop the neglect of their persons, and fulfil their vows, and compass the ancient house.

This do. And he that honoureth the sacred ordinances of God † it is well for him with his Lord. The flesh of cattle is lawful unto you excepting that which hath been read unto you. Wherefore abstain from the pollutions of idols, and abstain from the false speech : following the Catholic faith unto God, not associating any with him ; for he that associateth any with God is like that which falleth from the Heavens, and the birds snatch it away, and the wind bloweth it into a distant place.

Hearken to this : whosoever honoureth the Sacrifices of God, ‡ verily they proceed from purity of heart. From them (the victims) ye derive benefits until the appointed time : then they are brought for sacrifice unto the ancient House.

And unto every people have WE appointed rites, that they may commemorate the name of God over the brute beasts He hath provided for them. And your GOD is one God ; wherefore submit yourself unto Him and bear good tidings unto the Humble :—

Those whose hearts, when God is mentioned, tremble thereat :—and unto those that patiently bear what befalleth them and observe prayer, and spend in alms of that WE have provided them with.

And the victims § have WE made unto you as ordinances || of God. From them ye receive benefit Commemorate, therefore, the name of God over them as they stand disposed in a line, and when they fall slain upon their sides, eat thereof, and give unto the Poor both him that is silent and him that beggeth. Thus have WE given thee dominion over them that ye may be thankful.

Their Flesh is not accepted of God, nor yet their Blood : but your Piety is accepted of Him.

Few and simple as the positive precepts of Mahomet up to this time were, they had wrought a marvellous and a mighty work. Never since the days when primitive Christianity startled the world from its sleep and waged moral strife with

* Lean and famished from the long journey.

† شعائر الله *rites or offerings* ; but from what follows, *victims* would seem to be here meant.

‡ The word signifies *camels* offered in sacrifice البدن

§ Or *signs, symbols*. It is the same word as before. شعائر

|| Sura XXII.,—40.

Heathenism, had men seen the like arousing of spiritual life,—the like faith that suffered sacrifice and took joyfully the spoiling of goods for conscience sake.

From time beyond memory, Mecca, and the whole Peninsula had been steeped in spiritual torpor. The slight and transient influences of Judaism, Christianity, or Philosophy, upon the Arab mind, had been but as the ruffling here and there of the surface of a quiet lake ;—ll still and motionless below. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty and vice. It was a common practice for the eldest son to marry his father's widows inherited with the rest of the estate.* Pride and poverty had introduced among them, as among the Hindus, the crime of female infanticide.† Their religion consisted in gross idolatry, and their faith was rather the dark superstitious dread of unseen beings, whose good will they sought to propitiate and their displeasure to avert, than the belief in a God of Providence. The life to come, and retribution of good and evil, were as motives of action, practically unknown.

Thirteen years before the Hegira, Mecca lay lifeless in this debased state. What a change had those thirteen years now produced ! A band of several hundred persons had rejected idolatry, adopted the worship of the one great God, and surrendered themselves implicitly to the guidance of what they believed a revelation from Him ;—praying to God with frequency and fervency, looking for pardon through His mercy, and striving after good works, almsgiving, chastity and justice. They now lived under a constant sense of the Almighty Power of God, and of His providential care over the minutest of their concerns. In all the gifts of nature, in every relation of life, at each turn of their affairs, individual or public, they saw His hand. And, above all, the new spiritual existence in which they joyed and gloried, was regarded as the mark of His especial grace : while the unbelief of their blinded fellow-citizens was the hardening stamp of His predestined reprobation. Mahomet was the minister of life to them :—the source under God of their new-born hopes ; and to him they yielded a fitting and implicit submission.

In the short period, Mecca had, from this wonderful move-

* See an instance of this practice ("such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles," I Cor. v. i.) in the 2nd note, page 27, of *the Life of Mahomet to his Fortieth Year*.

† This custom Mahomet stringently proscribed, Sura VI., 137. 140, 151, and it disappeared with the progress of Islam.

ment, been torn into two factions, which, unmindful of the old land-marks of tribe and family, were arrayed in deadly opposition one against the other. The believers bore persecution with a patient and a tolerant spirit. And, though it was their wisdom so to do, the credit of a magnanimous forbearance may be freely accorded to them. One hundred men and women, rather than abjure their precious faith, had abandoned their homes, and sought refuge, till the storm should be overpast, in Abyssinian exile. And now, again, even a larger number with the prophet himself, emigrated from their fondly loved city, with its sacred temple, to them the holiest spot on earth, and fled to Medina. There the same wonder-working charm had, within two or three years, prepared for them a brotherhood ready to defend the prophet and his followers with their blood. Jewish truth had long sounded in the ears of the men of Medina, but it was not till they heard the spirit-stirring strains of the Arabian prophet, that they too awoke from their slumber, and sprang suddenly into a new and earnest life.

We shall leave Mahomet to describe his people of this period in his own words :—

The servants of the Merciful are they that walk upon the earth softly, and when the ignorant speak unto them, they reply *Peace!*

They that spend the night worshipping their Lord, prostrate and standing :—

And that say,—Oh, our Lord ! Turn away from us the torment of Hell : verily from the torment thereof there is no release. Surely it is an evil abode and resting-place !

Those that when they spend are neither profuse nor niggardly, but take a middle course ;

Those that invoke not with God any other God ; and slay not a soul that God hath forbidden, otherwise than by right ; and commit not Fornication, For he who doeth that is involved in sin,—

His torment shall be doubled unto him in the day of judgment : therein ignominiously shall he remain for ever,

Excepting him that shall repent and believe and perform righteous works ; as for them God shall change their evil things into good things ; and God is forgiving and merciful.

And whoever repenteth and doeth good works, verily, he turneth unto God with a true repentance.—

They who bear not witness to that which is false ; and when they pass by vain sport, they pass by with dignity :—

They who, when admonished by the revelations of the Lord, fall not thereupon down as if deaf and blind ;—

That say, Oh, our Lord, Grant us of our wives and children such as shall be a comfort unto us, and make us examples unto the pious !

These shall be rewarded with lofty mansions (in Paradise,) for that they persevered, and shall be accosted therein with welcome and salutation :

For ever therein :—a fair Abode and Resting-place !

When we speak, however, with praise of the virtues of the early Mussulmans, it is only in comparison with the state and habits of their heathen countrymen. Neither their tenets nor their practice will in any respect bear competition with Christian, or even with Jewish, morality. This is plentifully illustrated by the practical working of the system, when shortly after, at Medina, it had a free field for natural development.

For instance, we call the Moslems chaste, because they abstained from indiscriminate profligacy, and kept carefully within the bounds prescribed as licit by their prophet. But those bounds, besides the utmost freedom of divorce and change of *wives*, admitted an illimitable license of cohabitation with "all that the right hand of the believer might possess," or, in other words, with any possible number of damsels he might choose to purchase, to receive in gift, or to ravish in war.

The facility of divorce at this period, (when even the easy check of three intervening months before the re-marriage of the divorced female was not imposed,) may be illustrated by the following incident: Abd al Rahmán, son of Awf, on his first reaching Medina, was lodged by Sâd, son of Rabî, a Medina convert, to whom Mahomet had united him in brotherhood.* As they sat at meat Sâd thus addressed his guest:—"My brother! I have abundance of wealth: I will divide with thee a portion thereof. And behold my two wives! Choose which of them thou likest best, and I will divorce her that thou mayest take her to thyself to wife." And Abd Al Rahmán replied:—"The Lord bless thee my brother in thy family and in thy property!" So he married one of the wives of Sâd.†

At the opening scene of the prophetic life of Mahomet, we ventured to fetch an illustration of his position from the

* This refers to the arrangement made by Mahomet on his first reaching Medina according to which each Emigrant was specially joined in close brotherhood with one of the Medina converts.

† After this brotherly mark of affection, Abd al Rahmán said, "My brother take me on the morrow to the market place." So they went, and Abd al Rahmán traded, and returned with a bag of butter and cheese which he had made by the traffic. And Mahomet met him in one of the streets of Medina with the saffron clothes of nuptial attire upon him, and he said, "How is this?" And Abd al Rahmán replied, "I have married me a wife from amongst the Adjutors." "For what dower?" "For a piece of gold of the size of a date stone." "And why," replied Mahomet, "rest with a goat?" *Wâkidi*, pp. 202, 203, 282.

The above is intended by the traditionists to illustrate the poverty of Abd al

temptation of our Saviour. The parallel between the founders of Christianity and Islam might be continued to the flight of Mahomet, but there it must stop; for it is the only point at all corresponding with the close of Christ's ministry. Beyond that term, in the life of Rule, of Rapine, and Indulgence, led by Mahomet at Medina, there is absolutely no feature whatever common with the course of Jesus.

During the periods above indicated as possible for comparison, persecution and rejection were the fate of both. But the thirteen years' ministry of Mahomet had brought about a far greater change to the external eye, than the whole of Christ. The apostles fled at the first sound of danger; and however deep the inner work may have been in the 500 by whom our Lord was seen, it had produced as yet but outward action. There was amongst them no spontaneous quitting of their homes, nor emigration by hundreds, such as characterized the early Moslems; nor any rapturous resolution by the converts of a foreign city to defend the prophet with their blood.

This is partly owing to the different state of the two people among whom respectively Jesus and Mahomet ministered:—Jesus amongst Jews, whose law he came not to destroy but to fulfil, and in whose *outer* life, therefore, there was no marked change to be effected:—Mahomet amongst a nation of idolators sunk in darkness and vice, whose whole system must be overturned, and from the midst of whom converts, to exhibit any consistency whatever, must go forth with a bold and distinctive separation.

There was, too, a material difference of aim and teaching.

Rahmân when he reached Medina as contrasted with the vast wealth subsequently amassed by him. "At his death he left gold in such quantities, that it was cut with hatchets till the people's hands bled." He had 1,000 camels, 3,000 sheep and 100 horses. He had issue by sixteen wives, besides children of concubines. One of the former was Tamadhir, the daughter of a Christian Chieftain whom he married at Mahomet's bidding, and who bore to him Abdallah (Abu Salma) the famous traditionists. As one of his four widows, she inherited 1,00,000 dinars.

Abd al Rahmân was penurious. Mahomet said to him, "Oh son of Awf! Verily thou art amongst the rich, and thou shalt not enter Paradise but with great difficulty. Lend therefore to thy Lord, so as He may loosen thy steps." And he departed by Mahomet's advice to give away all his property. But the prophet sent for him again, and told him by Gabriel's desire, that it would suffice if he used hospitality and gave alms.

It will be a curious and useful to trace the multitude of wives and concubines, and the vast wealth of the chief leaders of early Islam, as illustrating its gross and earthly spirit even in its next day and at the fountain head.

The spiritual system of Jesus was essentially incompatible with worldly means and motives. His people, *as such*, though in the world, were not "of the world." The idea of his followers making him a king, or the citizens of another country being invited to receive him and support his cause by arms, would have been at direct variance with the whole spirit and principles of Jesus. And it was this spirituality of aim and agency, to the entire exclusion of earthly aids, that chiefly tended to produce the great difference in apparent progress.

The reason for Mahomet's toleration of his Meccan opponents was present weakness only. While patience *for awhile* is inculcated by God on Mahomet and his followers, the future breathes all of revenge and victory. It is true, that in the Coran, the instruments are yet hidden,—known to God alone. But not the less are the enemies of the prophet to be overthrown and perish; and that with a *material* destruction like the flood and flames of Sodom and Gomorrah. Human agency was moreover diligently sought after. The tribes as they came up to the yearly solemnities of Mecca, are one by one canvassed and exhorted to rally round "the cause of God and His prophet," the chiefs of Tayif are tempted by the prospect of sovereignty over the rival city and temple; and at last, when all nearer aid is despaired of, the converts of Medina are bound by an oath of fealty to defend the prophet with the same courage and weapons as their wives and children.

It might easily be foreseen from the first rise of opposition, (and the prospect had its full effect upon the Arab,) that arms and warfare, with all their attractive accompaniments of revenge and predatory raids, would decide the struggle.

It was, we believe, with the full anticipation of such a struggle (for he was not long at Medina before taking the initiative.) that Mahomet, alarmed by the council of the Coreish, hid himself in the cave, and fled from Mecca. Compare with this, if indeed there be any common ground of comparison, the peaceful and sublime serenity with which Jesus calmly awaited the diabolical machinations of the Jewish council. Contrast further with the sword about to be unsheathed by Mahomet, the grand principle for the propagation of his faith pronounced by Jesus before his heathen judge:—"My kingdom is not of this world; if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is My kingdom not from hence."

Having now sketched the Life of Mahomet to the point of his quitting Mecca, it is not our intention to prosecute the subject further for the present.

The opportunity is appropriate of apologizing to the readers of this Review for the unwonted course of publishing in its pages, and in a disjointed form unfavourable to the subject itself,—the results of *original* research. For the abundant forbearance experienced, notwithstanding the unusual, and, for the general reader, often uninteresting, character of some of the articles, the writer feels bound to express his acknowledgments. He indulges a hope that these articles may perhaps tend in some degree to clear away the obscurity and misapprehension which envelope the infant days of a religion, second in importance to Christianity alone.



THE ENGLISH IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY—WATSON, ESQ.

The English in Western India. Being the Early History of the Factory at Surat, of Bombay and the Subordinate Factories on the Western Coast, from the Earliest Period until the commencement of the Eighteenth Century. By Philip Anderson, A.M., Chaplain in the Diocese of Bombay, &c. Bombay, 1854.

In this age of elaborate essays and ponderous tomes, when the observations of a day or wanderings of a week are inflated from their legitimate sphere, it is not without a secret feeling of gratulation that we discover less pretentious labours, challenging the attention, and striving to obtain in the world of literature a standard of importance and acknowledgment. The size and contents of the work now before us have just claims upon our attentive consideration, and would, but for the discrepancy between its title and contents, have elicited our warmest commendation.

The author entitles his production, *The History of the Factories of Surat, Bombay, &c., &c.*, from the earliest period up to the eighteenth century, and we confess we were somewhat startled, at the same time highly delighted, at having met with a writer whose power of condensation reduced his annals to a corresponding number of octavo pages. Our enjoyment was not, however, destined to be of long duration. The two first lines of the preface destroyed our hopes of curtness, and explained that which the title does not, the nature of the work in these words:—

“The following pages will not, it is hoped, be thought uncalled for, as they fill an hiatus in Indian History,” and farther on we learn: “The aim has simply been to *supplement* histories and record circumstances which had been concealed from observation, through the neglect of enquirers, a low estimate of their value, or timidity in exposing nude and ugly truths.”

This prefatory exposition is correct; the work is not strictly a history, but rather the combination of a number of hitherto unrecorded facts, highly important, we admit, as shewing more the private than political workings of the first settlers and their successors in India. We wish, however, for the author's sake, that the title had been indicative of the contents, for quoting his own language, “He has not endeavoured to walk upon the stilts of fancy, but has been satisfied with the secure footing of plain dealing and truth.” To this statement we fully subscribe, and have much pleasure in bearing our testimony to the praiseworthy manner in which he has endeavoured

to elucidate many of the ambiguous and early portions of the connection between the British and Indian Governments. This necessarily portrays scenes, crimes, and actions alike startling and pusillanimous, which the honorable and humane will ever reject as a blot upon our presence in the East. On the other hand, the uncertain diplomacy and irreconcilable factions here developed, afford ample grounds for admiring the persevering energy of the East India Company and its officers, to whom the British nation are indebted, for having successfully brought into order, elements so uncongenial, and subjugated a territory of such magnitude and importance to the British Crown.

Advisedly we pay this tribute to the endeavours of the East India Company, the reputation of which has too frequently been assailed by interested calumniators for specific interests, and we are well pleased to find works like the present offering to the public, the means of forming an unbiassed opinion. Doubtless many appointments have been unfortunate, and acts enforced that were both premature and ill digested. Nevertheless there is this fact, let us handle it as we may, that India with her three Presidencies, her boundless wealth and enormous population, is an appendage of the British Sovereign. And let us hope that those who deny the previous fortunate, if not good government, by which such success has been obtained, will demonstrate or assist in showing the most certain and effectual means for improving and consolidating these valuable possessions.

The past history of British India, environed as it has always appeared with wonders, and constantly presenting fresh and startling incidents, has hitherto failed to satisfy the reader, who has felt that much was left untold, and undeveloped. Our author tends to elucidate this, and demonstrates in the early career of the East India Company, how its reputation and capital were worked for other than its own interest. Sometimes the crown, sometimes the ministers, and again a clique of its directors assumed all control for specific purposes, and proportionately with such struggling for speculation and patronage, were the legitimate objects of the Company prostrated, while whatever mishaps or calamities ensued, the public knew but one object to censure, and unmitigated blame fell, deservedly or not, upon the unfortunate Company.

The volume before us has a tendency to set matters right, in many instances, and totally removes the obscurity which environs several early transactions with India,

placing at the same time the culpability of many misdeeds upon the right persons, so that the public have now a fairer opportunity of judging of the past, and estimating the progress of the future British rule in India. The establishment of the British power in India is one of the most startling events recorded in the pages of history, and teaches this moral lesson,—that the force of example, when based upon truthfulness and integrity, can effect as great and potent ends, as the force of arms, or the subtlety of diplomacy.

It is too well known to be necessary to dilate upon, that the first appearance of the English in India was as humble suppliants, and in accordance with their prayers, a portion of land was granted to them for the purpose of erecting a factory thereon, so that they might trade and barter with the natives upon a similar footing to the Spaniards, Portuguese and others already established in the country. The application for, and concession of, this grant of land was brought about by the following circumstances: A traveller named Stephens, having some years previously communicated the nature of the Indian trade, it was determined by a body of London merchants, that one Mildenhall should journey thither, to obtain from the Emperor of Delhi—the great Aurungzebe—authority to trade in his dominions. To effect this, Mildenhall departed in 1599, and reached Agra overland in 1603, from whence, after an expiration of three years, he returned, satisfied with his endeavours. It does not, however, appear that any substantive advantage resulted from this journey, but it certainly paved the way for the subsequent visit of Captain Hawkins, who reached Surat in 1609, bearing a letter from King James to the Emperor. He was well received, and had permission to establish a factory at Surat. But this promise, as oft broken as renewed, so disgusted Hawkins, that he sailed homewards in 1612, leaving the King's letter, to which the Emperor did not condescend to reply.

The only advantage resulting from Hawkins' voyage, was the promise alluded to, respecting the establishment of a factory at Surat. This was eventually effected by a daring mariner named Best, who, despite the impediment and resistance offered him, boldly proceeded to the promised settlement, upon which the Emperor transmitted a firman, that provided for the residence of an English plenipotentiary at Surat, and an authority for his countrymen to trade fully, openly, and without impediment. Best being as shrewd as he was determined, well knew that this concession was produced more through fear than any other cause,

and thence determined to avail himself of so favorable an opportunity, and demanded and obtained a ceremonious acknowledgment from the native authorities. This, while it produced marked effects upon the native population, to a certain extent paralysed the energies of the Spanish and Portuguese, who had hitherto been most strenuous antagonists, because they naturally feared that the English would destroy their lucrative monopoly in the Indian trade.

Affairs having succeeded according to Best's expectation, he immediately availed himself of his authority, by forthwith establishing the long desired factory, and having accomplished this, he returned home in 1613, having laid the foundation of a sure and profitable trade. Best was ably succeeded by Captain Downton, who, upon his arrival at Surat in 1615, found but three factors, as they were then termed, who had been appointed by this predecessor. Intrigue or interest had caused the dispersion of the remainder. Downton's measures produced much animosity towards him from European interests, and considerable native injustice. These, coupled with the unhealthiness of the climate, caused his death in the ensuing August. He was a vigorous and talented man, and perfected the arrangement connected with the factory, or as it was then termed, "The English House," which he placed under the management of a head factor named Kerridge. Hitherto all transactions with native powers had been carried on by the Company's Agent, but it was now resolved to try the effect of a Royal Mission, for which purpose Sir Thomas Roe left England on the 6th of March 1615, and arrived at Surat on the 24th of the ensuing September. The object of this embassy was two-fold; to arrange a definite treaty, and recover a large amount of money alleged to be owing by the courtiers and ministers of the Emperor. Roe's reception was as gracious as could be expected, yet the terms of his treaty were generally rejected, and, much to his mortification, he discovered that the factors of Surat threw every impediment in his way. Foreign and native interest he was prepared to encounter, but that of his own countrymen surprised and chagrined him. Eventually this opposition was withdrawn, and Roe returned, having recovered all bribes, extortions and debts, and further obtained permission to establish another factory at Baroch.

Weighing the results of this embassy, it must be confessed that Roe's diplomacy was highly creditable to him, and his abilities strongly recommended him to the then reigning Sovereign Jehangheer, who, unlike most Oriental potentates, regarded less the minister than the man, and much less the presents

than the mental accomplishments of the ambassador, whose learning and affability attracted the good will and respect of all. The Flat that conveyed Roe to his destination, was commanded by a then so-called "General" Keeling, who endeavoured to found a factory at Cranganor under the auspices of the ruler of that district, but being viewed rather as fit objects for extortion than encouragement, the factors availed themselves of the first favourable opportunity of escaping with their property to Calicut. Thus was established the factory, whose looms soon obtained an European celebrity, which they deservedly retained, until British skill and capital removed the seat of manufacture from the vicinity of Bombay to Manchester.

In reference to Sir Thomas Roe, with whose conduct the Company were so well pleased upon his return to England, our author remarks, "They paid him the compliment of offering him an honorary seat in their Court of Committees, and more substantially rewarded him with a pension of two hundred pounds per annum. He afterwards obtained a seat in Parliament where he supported the Company's interests."

For several years, after Best, Downton and Roe, we have, and perhaps fortunately, no authentic documents upon which reliance can be placed, but this much is certain that debauchery and peculation of the most flagrant character usurped the place of good Government. The oldest despatch of the Surat factory is dated July 26th, and it affords little information, but from other sources we learn that the Company's Agents were then negotiating with the Emperor and King of Golconda, for an extension of their trade to Hindustan. Surat having by this time risen into considerable importance, they were desirous of extending their commercial pursuits to other and more distant parts of India, and for the purpose of more effectually adding weight and importance to the residents at their factory, the principal was termed the "Chief of the Honorable Company of English Merchants Trading to the East." When or how this title was obtained is enveloped in obscurity, but the use of the word Honorable may be fairly assumed as a privilege, granted by the Crown as an acknowledgment for past, and encouragement for future public services.

As already remarked, Surat at this period had become a position of considerable importance, and was destined to be the point of radiation, from whence the commercial spirit of Britain should thrust forward its then infantine powers. Situated on the left bank of the Tapti, at a distance of fourteen miles from the sea, the vessels which then navigated the Indian Ocean easily ascended the river, and found secure anchorage off the town.

From remote antiquity it had been celebrated for the number and wealth of its inhabitants, the beauty of its gardens, and fertility of its soil, while the concourse of foreigners in the place amply testified to the importance of its commerce. As tributaries to her, Surat claimed the produce of Scinde, Guzerat, and the Malabar Coast, together with the entire trade of Africa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, while the vales of Cashmere and distant lands of Cathay alike contributed to the markets of this emporium. Notwithstanding, however, all these advantages, residence at Surat was not unmingled with annoyance and hardships. The Native Governor inflicted his misrule equally upon his fellow subjects and the Europeans, and to secure his favor, the latter had recourse to all sorts of artifices and corruption.

About the year 1636, Methwold, who was President, returned to England, and was succeeded by one Fremlen, and the latter by Francis Benton, but of these Presidents few authentic accounts remain, and these few generally devoid of interest. Benton's monument in the cemetery at Surat bears testimony to his exertions, and declares that "for five years he discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity." Then followed Captain Jeremy Blackman whose appointment is dated 1651, with a salary of £500, but a strict inhibition from private trade, which had hitherto been the principal source of emolument to the Company's servants.

We may here retrace our steps to shew that the successes of the first Company were not free from bitter and protracted annoyances. Their Prosperity naturally woke up a spirit of the emulation, and a desire upon the part of other enterprising men to participate in such advantages. After various applications, Sir William Courtend obtained from Charles I. a license to engage in the Indian trade, and forthwith Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney were despatched in 1636, under the protection of the British Crown. Weddel, upon his arrival, addressed the President and Council of Surat, and at the same time forwarded a copy of the King's letter, in which His Majesty avowed that he had a particular interest in the New Company, and requested the President, if required, to render them any assistance. Weddel took the opportunity at the same time of expressing an earnest hope, that the present enterprise would not be viewed unfavorably, and that both Companies might operate with a friendly regard to each other. But "the President having received no information from "his superiors in England, either could or would not believe "that a New Company had been formed, and desired to know

“ what privileges had been granted to the New Company. “ The following year he received a letter from the Secretary “ of State, shewing that there was no doubt about the innovation.” The receipt of this official communication spread the wildest consternation among the factors and *employés* of the Old Company, and was followed by the deepest despondency. Absolute ruin was predicted, and every desire manifested to impede the success of their opponents. But the wisdom of the Home Directory frustrated this violent outburst, and left the choleric factors and their abettors to vent their spleen and indignation anew, when they discovered that “ the Innovators were trading at Rajapoor, which they regarded as “ their domain, and that they had established factories at Batticolo and Carwar.”

From the foundation of the New Company until the year 1650, the spirit of contention embittered the officers of both corporations, and this militated against working to advantage. It was therefore determined to bury all animosity in oblivion, and an agreement was entered into, to trade with India upon joint account, and to the exclusion of their countrymen generally, many of whom termed “ Interlopers,” had pursued a lucrative though hazardous traffic in those parts, which it was arranged between the Companies should now be suppressed. During the contention of the two Companies, if the progress of events frustrated their exertions in one direction, accident, as commonly happens, favoured them in another, and laid the foundation of a trade the most important of any.

Somewhere about the year 1636, the Emperor of Delhi having a beloved daughter seriously ill, was informed by one of the nobles of his Court, of the skill exhibited by European practitioners of medicine, and was induced by this nobleman to apply to the President for aid in his extremity. Upon this Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the Company’s Ship, *Hope-well* was directed to proceed to the Court of Delhi, and render his professional services. “ This he did with such success, “ that the imperial favours were liberally bestowed upon him, and, “ in particular, he obtained a patent permitting him to trade, without paying any duties throughout the Emperor’s dominions.” The benefit of this concession would probably have been very doubtful, had his good fortune not followed him to Bengal, where he cured a favourite mistress of the Nawab, who in gratitude confirmed all his privileges, which, says our author, were thus employed: “ The generous Surgeon did not in his prosperity forget his former employers, but advanced the Compa-

"pany's interests, by contriving that his privileges should be "extended to them. Having done so, he wrote an account of "his success to the factory of Surat, and the next year a profit- "able trade was opened in the rich provinces of Bengal." Thus the trade of two out of the three presidencies was established, became a splendid monopoly, and laid the foundation of the pre-eminence now enjoyed.

The natural advantages of Bombay had not escaped notice, and "the Company had hoped to gain possession of it so early "as 1627. In that year, a joint expedition of Dutch and English ships, under the command of a Dutch General, 'Harman Van Speult, had sailed from Surat with the object of "forming an establishment here, as well as of attacking the Portuguese in the Red Sea. This plan was defeated by the death of Van Speult, but in 1653, the President and Council of Surat again brought the subject under the consideration of the Directors, pointing out how convenient it would be to have some insular and fortified station, which might be defended in times of lawless violence, and giving it as their 'opinion that, for a consideration, the Portuguese would allow 'them to take possession of Bombay and Bassein." This suggestion, which was submitted to Cromwell, remained unacted upon. But in 1661, the Portuguese Government, upon the marriage of the Infanta Catherina with Charles the II., ceded the long wished-for island to England as the Infanta's dower. Accordingly a fleet of five ships, under the Earl of Marlborough, arrived in the harbour on the 18th September of that year.

But the Portuguese, notwithstanding the presence of a Viceroy to see the articles of cession strictly observed, were unwilling to resign a place so richly endowed by nature, and excepted to the English demand, finally refusing to arrange any terms or listen to any proposals. Marlborough not having the means of reducing the place, was compelled to relinquish the island, and determined upon returning to England, previously to which he offered to assign Bombay to the President and Council of Surat, but as they had no authority to accept, or means of obtaining the mastery of the place, the offer was declined. After Marlborough's departure, the Portuguese permitted Cook, who commanded the few soldiers remaining of the body that had been brought out, to occupy the place, but subject to such humiliating terms, that they were never ratified by either of the Crowns interested in the matter, and the English Government were so dissatisfied with Cook's measures, that they deposed him, and demanded satisfaction for damages sustained, in consequence of the island not

having been delivered over, according to the original agreement.

Cook reluctantly yielded the Government to his appointed successor, Sir Gervase Lucas, an old warrior and devoted royalist, whose nomination was of great assistance in establishing British authority among the Portuguese, who, during Cook's time, had been accustomed to dictate their terms and requirements. Indeed, in one instance, because there was hesitation exhibited, respecting the grant of a considerable tract of land for the Jesuit's College at Bandora, they threatened to resort to arms. This threat, upon assuming office, Lucas pronounced an act of treason, and declared all the Jesuit's lands to be forfeited to the crown. Upon this Cook declared he would join the Portuguese in an attack on Bombay, but his threats were treated with contempt, and himself denounced as a rebel. Sir Gervase arrived at his seat of authority on the 5th of November 1666, and died on the 21st of the ensuing May. He was succeeded by Captain Gary; this gentleman, beyond being skilled in several languages, we have little information.

Regarding the acquisition of Bombay not having proved commensurate with the expectations of the King, he became anxious to rid himself of a worse than useless territory, and by royal charter conferred it upon the Honorable Company, the terms of the transfer being simply that the Company held the island of the King "in free and common socage, as of the Manor of East Greenwich, upon payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold, "on the 30th of September in each year." At the same time all stores, arms and ammunition upon the island, with requisite powers for its defence and government, were granted to the Company. Upon receipt of the copy of the charter in 1668, Sir George Oxenden, who had been appointed President of Surat in 1662, agreed to assume forthwith the Government of Bombay. But feeling that the officers of the crown might demur to the Company's supercession, and the supremacy of a few mercantile agents at a distance of two hundred miles from them, they proceeded with much care to avoid offence, and despatched one of their number—Mr. Goodyer—to explain incidental matters, and endeavour to effect amicable arrangements. Goodyer, who had previously been on terms of intimacy with Deputy-Governor Gary, admirably accomplished his task, and shortly after Gary formally surrendered his trust, and was succeeded by Captain Young.

Some few years elapsed before the importance of Bombay became manifest. At length it was regarded as a valuable acqui-

sition, being well situated, with a safe and commodious harbour—besides which, it offered direct means for effecting communications with the English factories in Persia, on the Malabar Coast, and with the Spice Islands. But above all, small as the territory was, the English were the sole masters, and wholly removed from the annoyance of native official cupidity, and, in the event of a war with the Dutch, by holding Bombay, they were enabled adequately to protect their servants. Accordingly the Company determined to augment the military strength, increase the population and develop its resources. Scarcely had the fortifications and the military arrangements been completed, when, on the 20th of February 1673, a Dutch fleet arrived for the purpose of taking the island by surprise, but when the Commander Rickloffe Van Goen discovered the well constructed batteries mounted with heavy ordnance, and supported by a park of light field pieces, together with three large *men-of-war*, and five French ships ready to assist the English, he quietly disappeared, and shortly after peace was concluded between the belligerent powers, which left Bombay free from further annoyance in that quarter.

“By way of increasing the population and developing the resources of the island, attempts were made to establish manufactures, and directions were given for inviting spinners and weavers to settle. Every legitimate influence was to be employed so as to attract them from the interior, and cotton was to be served out to them from the Company’s stores that they might convert it into cloth without any outlay of money. The Court, having heard that the manufacture of cotton stockings by knitting was successfully carried on at Goa, required that the same should be attempted at Bombay, and that four or five hundred pairs should at once be forwarded to England. Not only the poorer sort of artisans, but opulent tradesmen were also induced to settle by promise of liberal treatment and religious toleration. As a first step, a regular engagement was entered into with Nima Parak, an eminent Banya residing in the city of Diu, and formal articles were agreed to on both sides. On the part of the Company it was promised that all the Banya caste, who might remove to the island, should enjoy the free exercise of their religion within their own houses, and should be secured from all molestations. It was stipulated that no Englishman, Portuguese, or other Christian, nor any Mussulman should be permitted to live within the private grounds of the Banyas, to enter them for the purpose of slaughtering animals, or to offer their persons the slightest injury, or indignity. If any should in opposition to these

"regulations offend them by intruding upon their privacy, the Governor or his Deputy should, on receiving a complaint to that effect, cause the offenders to be severely punished. The settlers were to be allowed to burn their dead, and to observe all such ceremonies as were customary at their weddings; lastly it was engaged that none who professed their religion, of whatever age, sex or condition they might be, should be compelled to embrace Christianity, nor that any should be forced against their wills to carry burdens."

These wise and humane stipulations were followed by other steps for the encouragement of trade. Docks were to be constructed, a mint established, and two Courts of Judicature opened in 1670, while the Court of Directors recommended the embodiment of a regular police. Besides these military and commercial efforts, there were nevertheless shadows darkening the background, and over-clouding all the praiseworthy exertions of the Government. The settlement had acquired the reputation of being the focus of pestilence and disease—a very plague spot—three years being the estimated duration of European life there, and of every five hundred English who arrived, not one hundred was supposed to leave it. The catalogue of diseases chronicles many of those now prevalent, and affords, amongst the rest, unmistakeable evidence of the existence of cholera at this period. The Portuguese practitioners termed it, "The Chinese Death, or cholic. It was divided, according to their system, into four kinds. The first was simple cholic; its symptoms severe griping. The second was attended with diarrhoea as well as pain. The third were pain and vomiting, while purging, vomiting and intense pain were symptoms of the last kind, and generally brought its victim's sufferings to an end in twenty-four hours."

Different causes were assigned for the severe mortality which undoubtedly was experienced, but it would appear that intemperance and debauchery contributed more sufferers than any other source. In writing of this the Deputy Governor remarks: "strong drink and flesh is mortal, which to make an English soldier leave off, is almost as difficult as to make him divest his nature, nay, though present death be laid before him as the reward of the ill-gratifying his palate. This is the true cause of our Bombay bills of mortality having 'swelled so high.'" To provide the sick with good attendance and wholesome diet, a hospital was erected forthwith, and the decrease in the ensuing year's mortality was attributed to the improved mode of treatment and accommodation. Constantly surrounded by sickness and calamity, it is satisfactory to know that the religious

requirements of the community were not left unheeded, in the transition from inertness to activity which characterized the period. The usual place for celebrating Divine worship was a hall in the fort, but this being considered inadequate, it was suggested that a large and appropriate building should be erected, where natives and foreigners, having the opportunity of witnessing the method of conducting the service of the Church of England, might possibly become converts. The idea was warmly supported by the President Sir George Oxenden, and a large sum—upwards of five thousand pounds collected, but the progress of the new building was intercepted by the invasion of the Siddis, and public attention being diverted from the object, the subscribed capital, when required at a subsequent period, was nowhere to be found, some official having appropriated it to his own use. But though this for a time threw a very praiseworthy intention to one side, it did not at all influence the steady progress which religion had made.

The invasion to which we have just alluded, formed another of the difficulties which had to be overcome, nor were the characters or desires of these antagonists either estimable or easy to comply with. "These Siddis were troublesome, dangerous neighbours, and it is difficult to say whether their enmity or their friendship was most to be dreaded. In 1672, they anchored with a fleet off Bombay, and requested the President's permission to enter the harbour, and ravage the districts belonging to Sivaji. Their application was refused, but having afterwards relieved Jingira, which was besieged by Sivaji, and routed the Mahratta troops, they returned to Bombay, so inflated by success, that they entered the harbour without thinking it necessary to ask any one's consent. The President received them with constrained civility, for he was in an awkward predicament. On the one side the Siddi urged him to form a league against Sivaji, on the other side Sivaji vowed that, if this was done, he would instantly invade Bombay. It was lucky the Siddi was reasonable enough to take this dilemma into consideration. He promised to abstain from hostilities against the Mahratta districts which lay along the harbour, and prepared to take his departure."

If the Company at the outset had difficulties to encounter at Bombay, they were by no means less harrassed at their original settlement of Surat. The Mahratta chief Sivaji just mentioned, gave great anxiety to the English factors, and "at length on the 5th of January 1664, he entered Surat. Such of the inhabitants as were able made their escape, the helpless native

"Governor shutting himself in the castle which was protected
"by English cannon, and leaving the Mahratta robber to
"plunder the city at his convenience. Both the English
"and Dutch factors stood upon the defensive, the conduct
"of the former being so gallant, that they not only held
"their own, but saved the property of many natives. Encouraged by his successful pillage, Sivaji again on the 3rd of
"October 1670, entered Surat, and ransacked the city, and
"arrested for the time all commercial undertakings. This, although it caused the English to suffer severely from the hostility of the Mahratta usurper, constrained them to treat him
"with consideration and respect. Even when he was actually engaged in assailing Surat, the factors of Bombay felt
"so dependent on his country for their grain and fire-wood,
"that they addressed him in conciliatory language, and interchanged civilities with him."

Fortunately about 1672, the factors' wishes and Sivaji's interest tended to an amicable arrangement, and a treaty was adopted, by which, while peace was secured, the British hoped to obtain compensation for losses that had been sustained. Sivaji's conquests having exalted him in the eyes of his Mahratta followers, his ambition was gratified by his election to a throne, a ceremonial that was witnessed by Henry Oxenden, afterwards Deputy Governor of Bombay. This gentleman, aided by two other factors, arranged a treaty with the new sovereign, which afforded compensation for previous losses, and was on the whole, highly favorable to the Company's interest. The arrangement left the British to contend solely with the Siddis, whose depredations in a few years were put a stop to, partly by force and arrangement. Thus far native opposition was withdrawn, but there still remained the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French as competitors, and it is to be regretted that every endeavour to negotiate with these was frustrated by cupidity and envy, till at last they respectively sank under the weight of their own machinations, perversity, and want of judgment. It may be imagined, with Native and European antagonism, with disease and political opposition, that the British had plenty to occupy them, but there were, besides all these, still further annoyances in the shape of pirates, whose atrocities were dreadful inflictions, and, though last, not the least of their anxieties arose from the Interlopers or English Merchants, who traded upon their own account. To arrest their trading propensities, "strict injunctions were received from home that such
"should be seized, when taken, their ships and cargoes were to
"be confiscated, one-half the value was appropriated to His

"Britannic Majesty's use, and the other half according to their Charter to the Company." This, it should be remarked, was practised at a time, when the Company proclaimed that free-trade was permitted, and were enjoying with impunity exclusive privileges. But like most monopolies, it swerved from public to private benefit, and aroused indignation from the impediments it threw in the way of commerce, and gave rise to the proposition for the establishment of a New Company, which, though divided at first, eventually produced effects to which in their order we shall advert.

Bad as were these political and commercial grievances to endure, the internal affairs of the factories added much to the general annoyance. Temporary successes were regarded as justifying extravagances, which, in their turn, introduced vicious principles and public outrages. Some idea of the absurdities of the times may be drawn from the pomp with which the President used to move about. "He had a standard-bearer and body-guard, composed of a sergeant and double file of English soldiers. Forty natives also attended him at dinner, each course was ushered in by the sound of trumpets, and his ears were regaled by a band of music. Whenever he left his private rooms, he was preceded by his attendants with silver wands. On great occasions when he issued from the factory, he appeared on horse-back, or in a palanquin, or a coach drawn by milk white oxen. Red horses with silver bridles followed, and an umbrella of State was carried before him." This pomp and extravagance the Directors wisely strove to check, and they distinctly informed their President, that it would afford them much greater satisfaction, were he to suppress such unmeaning shew and ostentation. And the more effectually to compass their wishes, they reduced his salary to three hundred pounds a year, and dignified him simply with the title of Agent.

As a matter of course, follies, such as those exhibited by the President, were sure to find imitators, and were enlarged upon by subordinates, and hence with inadequate means, ill-restrained temperaments, and exciting drinks, all sorts of evils were engendered. Accordingly, we find, without surprise, one Thorpe, an officer in the Company's Navy, seizing a boat and crew of the Siddis for the purpose of extortion; and another drunken Naval Captain, while on board one of the Siddis' vessels as a guest, drawing his sword upon his host, and, on returning to his ship, firing a broad-side at his imaginary foe. These two incidents prove the entire want of control existing, and leave no room for wonder at native indignation towards the Company's Officers.

Farther on we learn that a vainglorious fellow named Pitt, who had been removed from the desk to the drill, gave the President an infinitude of trouble, while a reckless Corporal caused the explosion of thirty-five barrels of gunpowder, and greatly damaged the new fortifications of Bombay, by throwing a lighted bandolier up into the air.

Thus, regardless alike whether the Company were embroiled with native powers, or injured by waste, and discipline defied, their subordinates pursued their mad and dissipated courses, which too frequently involved the credit of their employers by the way in which they allowed matters to be hushed up. As an instance, a duel fought between Mr. Hornidge and Captain Minchin had its origin at some wild orgie, "and," as President Augur remarked, "was the effect of that accursed Bombay punch, to the shame, scandal and ruin of the nation and religion. The combatants were confined to their quarters, and suspended from the service, pending a reference to Surat, but as the Deputy Governor interceded for them, they were pardoned after paying a small fine." Laws, we here perceive, were viewed as subservient to official favoritism rather than as a means of suppressing offences, but it must in justice to the Company be admitted that, as far as home control was concerned, their exertions were directed to a purer administration of justice. Still the difficulties in making a distant Government conform to home regulations were very great and of proportionate tediousness. The mal-administration of the law was accompanied by the inefficiency of the army, for, after every arrival of troops, a fearful mortality prevailed, chiefly occasioned by excessive drinking, to which vice gambling amongst officers and men was superadded. These propensities, with the means and opportunities of enjoying them, were not likely to amend the condition of a class who, we have the authority of Clive for saying, were drafted from the refuse of our jails, and commanded by "officers seldom above the rank of Lieutenant, without order, discipline or military ardour."

Another feature of considerable importance—the disproportion of the sexes, had at length attracted the attention of the authorities, and, at the suggestion of Augur, a number of gentlewomen and females of the working-class were induced to migrate; but the former having been injudiciously selected, made but few alliances at Bombay, while the latter, having comparative luxury at their command, became loose and licentious. An observer, writing of these females, remarks that, "he was shocked to see how sickly their children were in consequence of the free and easy way in which the mothers lived, and their invec-

"terate habit of taking strong liquors." This importation of females, far from realizing the wished-for end, proved generally to be a failure, and involved much personal suffering, and brought besides great obloquy upon the Government and its enthusiastic originator. It might fairly have been inferred that, after so many troubles, domestic and foreign, some little respite would now occur, but it was ruled otherwise. The pecuniary embarrassments of the Home executive demanded both speedy and effectual retrenchment to relieve them. The accomplishment of this was felt by, and offended all their servants, Civil and Military, European and Native, but the military, it was admitted, suffered most, and had many just causes of complaint. These eventually led to a meeting, which was fortunately suppressed by the promptitude of the local authorities, who tempered clemency with firmness.

But a few years later the retrenchments led to a more serious result. The expense of fortifying Bombay, not having been covered by the revenue, the Company became burdened with debt, and determined still further to reduce the number of their Military, and consequently the entire "establishment was reduced to two Lieutenants, two Ensigns, four Sergeants, four Corporals and a hundred and eighty Privates. No batta was to be paid the detachment at Surat, the troop of horse was disbanded, and Keigwin, its Commandant, dismissed the "service." Keigwin, who was a man of energy and decision, forthwith went to England and remonstrated against such unjust and impolitic proceedings, and made such an impression on the Court of Directors, that he was invited to return and lend the aid of his experience to the Company in their embarrassed position. He immediately complied, and would doubtless have arranged every thing satisfactorily, but to his chagrin, in twelve months after his return, he found the Home Authorities had revoked a portion of his official control, and reduced his pay to a miserable pittance. Disgusted with such treatment, and having a strong public sympathy, he declared his secession from the Company, and that the inhabitants of Bombay were subjects only of the King of England. In this declaration he was supported by the majority of the Residents. When the intelligence reached England, that Bombay had revolted and the President had not been able to reduce it to order, the King commanded the Court of Directors to appoint a Secret Committee of Enquiry. Upon their report his Majesty sent a mandate under his sign manual to Keigwin, requiring him to deliver up the island, and offering a general pardon to all, except the ringleaders. It was further declared that if Keigwin and his followers

"offered any resistance, all should be denounced as rebels and "traitors." At the same time a reward was offered for Keigwin and his associates.

Harsh measures were rendered unnecessary, by the immediate recognition of the King's authority by the whole of the population. Keigwin, having obtained a promise of free pardon for himself and supporters, surrendered the island to Sir Thos. Grantham on the 12th of November 1684. "Such 'was a revolt which happily began and ended without bloodshed. Alarming as it was, and dangerous to the existence 'of Anglo-Indian power, it forms an episode in our history of 'which we are not ashamed. Keigwin emerges from the 'troubled sea of rebellion with a reputation for courage, honor and administrative capacity; on the other hand, the clemency of the Crown and Company is worthy all admiration." Some few cases of hardship were doubtless experienced, but upon the whole it was a bold sedition nobly forgiven, and germinated a juster treatment of the officials, without compromising the integrity of the Company.

Upon the suppression of Keigwin's rebellion, Sir John Wyburn, from political motives, was despatched as Deputy Governor to Bombay. But John Child, the Governor, finding the new Deputy too independent to lend himself to the perpetration of the various schemes of aggression which had been concocted by Sir Josiah Child and his brother Directors at home, means were employed for depriving Wyburn of his appointment, of which fortunately he did not live to experience the mortification. The aggression here referred to was the first attempt on the part of the Company, to exercise authority or dictate terms to the native rulers. This spirit evoked by Dutch example and fostered by Sir Josiah Child, was now destined to break forth, and little else was thought of than strengthening the military body, and conferring great advantages upon this hitherto neglected portion of the public service, and further, Bombay was ordered to be fortified as strongly as money could make it.

At this period, acting under the influence of the grossest mis-statements and blind infatuation, "the Court of Directors pompously announced that they were determined to make "war, not only on the Nawab of Bengal, but, in the sequel, upon "the Emperor himself. Nor was this sufficient, they actually "ordered their General to seize the goods of the King of Siam, "Bantam and Zombi as reparation for injuries received." These designs were confidentially conveyed to their General, who was nothing loath to act up to the spirit of such instructions, he and his brother Sir Josiah, having been the principal

instigators of this piece of absurd and dangerous policy. Accordingly, as might have been anticipated, we shortly after find that the Emperor Aurungzebe became indignant at several piratical acts of the English on the coast of Bengal, and still more so when he learnt that his Governor at Surat had been insulted by the English authorities. Upon demanding from Child some explanation, the latter, who had well studied his part, threw all the blame upon the Interlopers, and in his turn made numerous demands from the Governor of Surat, the concession of which was the only means of avoiding war. As might have been anticipated, his demands were treated with contempt, and "then assuming that justice was on his side, he waited until he had a fair opportunity of resorting to violence. The appointment of a fresh Governor at Surat, known as having a friendly inclination towards the English, induced a hope that amicable arrangements might have been effected. But this personage was not so yielding and gentle as had been expected, for, on the 26th of December 1688, he seized and imprisoned the factors, Harris and Gladman, and ordered all the goods of the Company to be sold, and offered a large reward to any who would take Child dead or alive."

The General on his part having failed by negotiation to release Harris and Gladman, now exhibited his real character and captured several richly freighted native ships, besides forty vessels laden with provisions for the Mogul Army, yet at the same time he wrote to Aurungzebe that his intentions were pacific. Upon this, the Emperor ordered the confiscation of all the property belonging to the English at Surat. Child, inflated with his new character, notwithstanding his letter to the Emperor, behaved with great arrogance to his Admiral the Siddi, "and told him plainly, that if his fleet ventured to sea, he would assume their intentions as hostile, and deal with them as enemies." Instead, however, of carrying out this threat, and adopting the only means for securing the safety of Bombay, he merely acted upon the defensive, and endeavoured to throw the onus of his culpability upon the inactivity of the English Presidents in Bengal and Madras, who, by his folly, were placed in similarly ridiculous situations to himself.

Child, though in truth with vanity sufficient to have rushed upon this, or indeed, any other undertaking, had neither the skill, nor the courage to enforce it, while his conduct and capabilities received neither support nor respect from his fellow settlers. Accordingly in this comparatively isolated position we soon find him writing in a style of misgiving to the Court of

Directors, and hoping by a change of conduct, to delude his adversaries.

"This duplicity and repentance were alike too late, Child's arrogance and his seizure of the provisions intended for the army of Yákéet Káhn, the Siddi, made that officer a willing agent to execute the Emperor's wrath. With an unaccountable infatuation, the English Governor had neglected to strengthen the fortifications of Bombay, although the Court of Directors had so urgently reminded him that this was necessary, and on the 14th of February 1639, the Siddi landed at Sewri with twenty or twenty-five thousand men, and at one o'clock in the morning three guns from the castle apprized the inhabitants of their danger. There might be seen European and Native women rushing with their children from their houses, and seeking a refuge within the fort. Next morning the Siddi marched to Mazagan, where was a small fort mounting fourteen guns, which the English abandoned with such haste, that they kept behind them eight or ten chests of treasure, besides arms and ammunition. Here the Siddi established his head-quarters and dispatched small force to take possession of Mahim fort also deserted."

"The following day the enemy advanced, and the General ordered Captain Penn, with two companies, to drive them back, but he and his little party were defeated. Thus the Siddi became master of the whole island, with the exception of the castle and a small tract extending about half-a-mile to the southward of it. He raised batteries on Dongari Hill, and placed one within two hundred yards of the fort. All persons on whom the English authorities could lay hands were pressed into their service." Thus passed the months from April to September.

"During the monsoon, the Siddi obtained supplies from the interior and from the Jesuits of Bandora, who paid a heavy reckoning, for thus assisting the enemy, at the end of the war. Their property was seized, and provisions were extremely scarce in the English quarters until the monsoon was over. But then the Company's cruisers being able to put to sea, were so successful in capturing vessels and supplies belonging to the Mogul's subjects, that distress was alleviated. Still the danger was imminent. The Siddi's army was increased to forty thousand fighting men, and the English troops which never amounted to more than two thousand five hundred, dared not venture to meet them in the field."

Child readily perceived that negotiation was his only resource, and found that the most abject submission would alone

assuage the Emperor's wrath. He accordingly despatched two envoys named Weldon and Navar to the Mogul Court. They were treated with the utmost indignity, and after much suffering were admitted to the Emperor's presence as culprits, prostrate, and with their hands tied behind them. He listened to their entreaties, and at length consented to an accommodation on condition, "That all monies due from them to his subjects should be paid, that recompense should be made for such losses as the Moguls had sustained, and that the hateful Sir John Child should leave India before the expiration of nine months." Thus terminated this unfortunate act of bombast, by which the Company, both in money and reputation, was a severe sufferer, as well in England as in India. Besides which, "the British Nation felt that a disgrace had been inflicted upon them which they attributed to the Company's Resident. This Company, it was argued, is clearly unfit to represent English interests in India. The public, and what was more to the purpose, the House of Commons also approved the suggestion." Child through the whole of his career apparently received the cordial support of the Company, but it is now generally known that this support, and the various testimonials he received, emanated solely through the influence of his brother, who was still the Chairman, and the more candid writers of the day, universally condemn the whole of Child's proceedings. Fortunately for him, he did not long survive to experience the humiliation resulting from a total overthrow of his rash proceedings, and his death much facilitated arrangements with native powers.

Harris who with several other factors had been released after great sufferings, succeeded to the Presidency of Surat and Governorship of Bombay. He was a weak incompetent person and was soon relieved of his appointment by Annesley Vaux, who, after two years' service, was himself dismissed for not (as second Judge, to which honorable position he had been appointed) straining, or rather violating, the law against interlopers. In 1692, Captain, afterwards Sir John Goldesborough was appointed Commissary General, with absolute power to dismiss all or any servants whom he might consider unqualified or negligent. His death in 1694, afforded an opening for the appointment of Sir John Gayer, a man of good character and ability, but whose efforts were frustrated by events beyond his control. Orington, who was a Chaplain in the Navy, has left us some very unsatisfactory descriptions of men and manners existing in

India at this period, which, though changing, were not improving. His enquiries respecting the factory, or, as he calls it the lodge, at Surat, afford the following interesting particulars : The building was rented of the Emperor at sixty pounds a year, and about forty Europeans resided within the walls. The President was allowed three hundred pounds a year, and, as the prohibition against private trade had been cancelled, he and the other chief factors could accumulate considerable wealth in a few years. The Council was composed of an Accountant, Store-keeper and Purser Marine, in addition to the President. After these, ranked the Secretary, but it was tacitly regarded amongst the factors as a rule of courtesy, that the Chaplain should rank as third in the factory.

The second in Council received a hundred and twenty pounds a year, the Chaplain, as formerly, a hundred, senior factors forty pounds, junior factors fifteen pounds, and writers seven pounds. Forty or fifty peons were in attendance for general purposes, besides several others that were appointed specially to wait upon the President and each of the factors, and at the gate of the factory was a porter to see that no suspicious persons entered, and that the writers and others were within the walls at proper hours. All Europeans connected with the factory dined at the same table, where they took their places according to seniority. The dinner service was sumptuous, all the dishes, plates and drinking cups being of massive and pure silver, and the provisions of the best quality. There were English, Portuguese and Indian cooks, so that every palate might be suited. On Sundays, and a few other days, high festival was kept, and the choicest of European and Persian wines introduced. At this period the finances of their Company were in a most embarrassed condition, but, singular to say, their servants never were in greater affluence, and their credit was sustained by advances from them, while trade was so oppressed, and weighed down with imposts, that but little could be transacted.

The climate also, Bruce remarks, instead of improving, was deemed more pestilential, and year by year disease swept away its victims with a rapidity truly alarming. Of seven or eight hundred Europeans, who inhabited Bombay before the war, not more than sixty were left, and there were but three Civilians to carry on the Company's business. It therefore became necessary to close the Courts of Admiralty and Common Law. Children suffered equally with those who arrived at maturity, not one child in twenty surviving. Many things contributed to introduce this dreadful mortality, but

principally the badness of the water and scarcity of provisions. Indeed, "in consequence of the scarcity of flesh meat, "European sailors were required to fast one or two days in the "week, just as good Churchmen were in England, by the writers "of the Homilies, in order that the fisheries might not be ruined." On these days hungry tars were only permitted to eat *kichari*, a mixture of rice and split pulse ; so because they conformed to the habits of the Hindus, they termed these days *banian* days, hence the derivation of a term though largely used but little understood. Dissoluteness and immorality of the most fearful and debasing kind were universally prevalent, and this added vigour to the attacks of the climate.

Alluding to these last our author justly remarks, "It must "be admitted that the Company did all in their power to arrest "the progress of vice at Bombay, but, as the English nation was "in the midst of an iniquitous career, to which the first impulse "had been given by that mean debauchee miscalled 'the Merrie Monarch' and his court, it was not to be expected that a "warning voice from London would gain respectful attention "in India. As an earnest of their desire to secure more "moral and religious conduct, the Directors wrote, "The "Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committees of the East "India Company, having been informed of the disorderly and "unchristian conversation of some of their factors and servants in parts of India, tending to the dishonor of God, the "discredit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and scandal of the English nation, make certain rules and regulations, with a view to render the religion we profess amiable "in the sight of those heathens among whom they reside, "and to prevent all profane swearing, and taking the name "of God in vain by cursed oaths, all drunkenness and intemperance, all fornication and uncleanness." If any persisted in committing these sins they were to be punished, and, if found incorrigible, sent to England. But of what avail could instructions like these be, when the local authorities not only tolerated the principal evil, but actually legislated for the quantity and price of those articles most freely drunk, and essential to intoxication. Thus we find, according to these regulations, a bottle of sherry was to be charged two xeraphims, and an order was published, that if any man went into a victualling house to drink punch, he might demand one quart of good Goa arak, half a pound of sugar, and half a pint of good lime water, and make his own punch, and if the bowl was not marked with the clerk of the markets' scale, then he might break the bowl, and depart without paying either for it or the punch.

Cases of poisoning were frequent in such places. A rough kiss, or drunken jest with reference to the black attendant who concocted the drink, too often induced her to poison the liquor, and deal a demoniacal retribution to the thoughtless roysterer.

Of any sanction to these dreadful proceedings, it is but just to give the Home authorities a total acquittance; nay, more; had their instructions been supported and vigorously enforced, many of the evils and much of the dissoluteness that prevailed would have been unknown. But their instructions were disregarded and intentions frustrated, and lamentable were the consequences that resulted.

That which, however, could not be effected by the Company, public opinion soon floated across the seas, and stimulated the commercial interests at home again to raise an opposition, which in due course made its influence felt. There had long existed a body of merchants dissatisfied with the Company's monopoly, who had endeavoured to draw public indignation upon the possessors of these advantages. It may therefore be readily supposed that the indignified financial position of the Company, its mal-administration both at home and abroad, together with the degraded and debauched population of which it seemed, and was accredited, both originator and protector, furnished its adversaries with weapons of offence, not easily avoided even in those corrupt times. Accordingly in 1691, numerous petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for the dissolution of the Old, and the establishment of a New Company. These prayers, in consequence of the unsatisfactory defence made by the Company, were supported by the House of Commons, in an address to the King.

This movement having been rendered abortive, similar but more numerous petitions were presented to the Commons in 1693, which were in some degree nullified by an extensive system of bribery. There still, however, remained sufficient power to present another address to His Majesty, praying him to dissolve the Company at the expiration of three years, which, it was promised, should be considered. This reply, though deemed satisfactory to the Commons, was not so viewed by the public, consequently in the October session of the same year, addresses, not from merchants only, but from traders generally, inundated the House. In these the petitioners undertook to prove that the transactions of the Company had been a scandal to religion, a dishonor to England, a reproach to the laws, an oppression to the people, and the ruin of their trade. The ministry, in defiance of the charges, having been heavily bribed, persuaded the King to grant the Company

a new Charter. This produced a temporary conflict between the Government and the House of Commons, the latter resisting the grant as an infringement of their peculiar rights. They further passed a resolution, that no British subject could be prevented trading to the East Indies, except by Act of Parliament. In 1695, the Commons followed up this resolution by an enquiry into the means by which the new Charter was obtained. This the King endeavoured to stop by a threat of closing the session, but the House was not to be intimidated. They appointed a committee to examine the books of the Company, and there discovered sufficient to justify articles of impeachment against the Duke of Leeds, on suspicion of largely participating in the bribery that had been practised, amounting on the whole to ninety thousand pounds. This sum had been disbursed by Sir Thomas Coke, one of the Directors, who being committed to the Tower, offered a full disclosure upon being indemnified. But the King screened the exposure of his ministers' profligacy by proroguing Parliament. This protection of the Sovereign was of little service, indeed, and only aggravated matters, for public indignation ran so high, that it was deemed advisable in 1698 to dissolve the Old, and establish a New Company. Nevertheless, this was not effected without considerable opposition, for the Old Company had independent of great interest, able advisers to support their cause. Their advocates argued, and with much truth, that the country had derived vast benefit from the trade that had been opened, that the Company having become Lord-Proprietors of St. Helena and Bombay, to deprive them of their territory, which had been conceded by Royal Charter, would be the height of injustice; the more so from their having expended large sums in the factories and fortifications, and that public justice and good policy would alike be shaken if their rights were infringed.

Remonstrances like these, supported by twenty members of the House of Lords, and many others of importance, had their effect upon the Commons, and in deference they passed a bill, which allowed the Old, or London Company to trade for three years only, to enable it to wind up its affairs. The antagonistic association was entitled "The English Company trading to the East Indies," and, to ingratiate itself with the public more thoroughly, asserted that its actuating principle was national and not exclusive. As may be imagined, these two Companies viewed each other with the greatest detestation, and the origin of the one and maintenance of the other, deriving their positions from the

antagonism of the Commons and the Crown, furnished them with still further grounds of defiance. This conflict, little heeded at home, afforded their respective servants in India ample scope for acting on the most pernicious principles; and causing an alternating ascendancy by no means favorable to either. But still it had the effect of shaking off the lethargy of the old, and stimulating the new Company, to introduce many innovations and improvements upon the previous method of carrying out proceedings.

In addition to the usual regulations, the Commons, much to their credit, caused to be inserted in the Charter of the New Company, which subsequently by their amalgamation became the Charter of both, special provisions for an educational and religious establishment. "A minister and school-master were to be maintained in every garrison and superior factory, and a decent place appropriated exclusively for Divine Service. Moreover, it was ordered that every ship of five hundred tons burden and upwards, should carry a Chaplain. all Clergymen, whether sent for duty in ships or in factories, were to be approved either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, and care was to be taken that they were treated with respect. It was strictly enjoined also that all Chaplains who went to reside in India, should learn the Portuguese language within one year after their arrival, and should also apply themselves to learn the language of the country, to propagate, if possible, the Protestant religion amongst the Gentoos in the Company's employ."

This was progress in the right direction, and disposed the public to view favorably the exertions of the New Company, which now seemed to have overcome the most prominent opposition. But the Old Company, when their open exertions failed to advance their views, silently sought for channels to overthrow their competitors, and in this they at length deemed themselves successful, for in their rivals' Charter it was provided that "all subscribers to the new stock might trade separately and on their own account." Availing themselves of these privileges, the Old resolved to subscribe largely to the funds of the New Association, and then to trade separately, when the three years allowed them should have expired. This, however, they were unable to accomplish, and whatever latent hopes had been previously entertained in 1695, were effectually dissipated, public opinion being still so adverse to them. Nevertheless, like desperate gamblers, trusting that some latent piece of fortune might come to their succour, and enable them, if not to defeat, at all events to divide with their compe-

titors ; they admonished their servants to prolong their existence by opposition, rather than to concede with grace, and dictated their views in this extraordinary language : " Two East India Companies could no more exist without destroying each other, " than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom ; " that now a civil battle was to be fought between the Old and " New Company, and that two or three years must end this " war, as the Old or New must give way ; that, being veterans, " if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not " doubt of victory ; that if the world laughed at the pains the " two Companies took to ruin each other, they could not help " it, as they were on good ground and had a Charter." Similar feelings actuating both Companies, mutual opposition ensued, and after severe losses on both sides, a compromise was eventually effected, which rendered further contention useless and injudicious.

The operations of the New Company were pushed on with vigour, notwithstanding the foregoing opposition, and they despatched one Lucas to Surat as their agent, and in April 1699, forwarded to him intelligence that Parliament had sanctioned their exertions, and granted them a Charter of which they furnished him with copies. Lucas thus authorized, at once presented a copy of the Act to the President, and then in company with Bouchier and Dr. Leckie, waited upon the native Governor, who immediately enquired into the accuracy of their representations. The President and Council were obliged to admit the genuineness of the authority, but declared that they had received no information upon the subject. The Governor's first impression was, that the factors would take advantage of this embarrassed state of things to deny their liabilities. He therefore commanded their broker to find security that the President and Council should not leave the city, and had their shroffs maltreated to make them disclose the Company's accounts.

During this time Lucas was assiduously undermining the Old Company with the natives, by spreading reports that the King of England and the Parliament had withdrawn their opponent's Charter, in consequence of the disordered state of their affairs, the crimes and delinquencies of their factors, and the intemperate use which their President and Governors had made of the authority vested in them. These representations, no doubt, told with considerable effect, but there was another thing which gave greater weight to the operations of the New Company, *viz.*, that of securing the services of Waite, Pitt, Mather, Annesley and Bouchier, who had been servants of the Old

Company. They were men of great experience, if not of unsailable integrity, and now embarked zealously in the establishment of their new employers. To these secessions were added in 1699, those of Mewse and Brooke, much to the consternation of the President, Sir John Gayer, and this defection was speedily followed by the arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as President of the New Company, whom, in order that "he might be superior to Gayer, the King had not only knighted, but declared his Consul, thus placing him in a position which the President of the London Company could not occupy."

Waite reached Bombay on the 11th of January 1700. But as Gayer did not acknowledge his authority, he repaired forthwith to Surat. There also the old factors treated him with contempt and disrespect. Nothing daunted, Waite insisted at Swally that the Old Company should strike their flag as a mark of respect to His Majesty's representative, and that his own flag should be saluted as that of a Vice-Admiral. This respect not being accorded, he forthwith sent a body of men on shore to haul down the obnoxious standard, a task which they soon accomplished, but as the victors were returning with the captured flag, it was rescued by a large detachment from the factory, and reinstated in its former elevated position. This defeat discouraged or probably made Waite reflect upon his own uncertain position, for he desisted from farther open demonstrations, and availed himself of artifice and intrigue, representing to the Emperor, that his opponents were thieves and confederates of pirates, the latter of whom were abhorred for the many robberies and atrocities, which they had practised against the Emperor and his subjects; "that he was expecting four Men-of-War who would act under his authority, and endeavour to destroy all pirates; and as a climax, he caused the walls of the city to be placarded, warning persons from taking passes for the London Company's ships. These were speedily pulled down, but their effect was not obliterated, and by this strategy he inflicted a wound that was not readily healed."

The new factory was founded on a similar scale to the old, but Waite complained that his salary was not equal to that of the Old Company's General, who received five hundred pounds per annum, and had an allowance of five hundred more for the maintenance of his table. "The second in council received one hundred pounds per annum. The chief factors including Benjamin Mewse, Chief for China, Jeremiah Bonnell, Europe Warehouse-keeper, John Lock, Secretary, and two merchants, received sixty pounds per annum, the other five factors forty pounds each, fourteen writers twenty pounds

"each, Chaplain one hundred pounds, Surgeon thirty, and "a Genoese cook twenty. These and ten soldiers who received four pounds each, and a suit of clothes, and a trumpeter "were all the Europeans upon the establishment." Notwithstanding ample means and effective arrangements, there were yet considerable obstacles to overcome. The Native Government supported the Old Company, not from any regard, but simply because they knew their characters, and were ignorant of the others who might be dangerous persons. Waite, therefore, continued his system of undermining his opponents, in which he eventually succeeded, and they at length came to be viewed as interlopers and connected with the coasting pirates, a statement partially correct, and therefore easily reconciled by the natives. He also promulgated a report, that their Charter would terminate in 1702, and advised a close watch upon their proceedings, otherwise they would remove with their property and avoid payment of their debts. Sir John Gayer, at this period, leaving Bombay for the purpose of refuting Waite personally at Swally, gave unintentionally a favorable coloring to these calumnies, which led to calamitous results.

Conflicting interests such as these could not long exist, and as if by mutual consent, both parties looked forward to the arrival of Sir W. Norris, a Member of Parliament, who had been despatched as an Ambassador to the Emperor at the cost of the New or English Company, to obtain a firman of trade throughout the imperial dominions. His advent inspired the adherents of the New Company with great hopes; and their opponents, although anticipating favorable results, yet were apprehensive, and they were for some time undecided, whether to acknowledge his authority or treat him as an enemy.

In this dilemma they applied to Sir John Gayer for advice, who counselled submission and respect, while, personally, he refrained from exclusively supporting the New Company. This behaviour which implied a judicial supremacy over the Ambassador was both unwise and unwarrantable, and afforded ground at Fort St. George, and Masulipatam, for the old factors to offer insults, and render abortive the Ambassador's intention of proceeding by way of Golconda to his destination. Frustrated in this way of reaching the court, Norris accepted an invitation from Waite to visit Surat, and had no sooner arrived than troubles and disturbances arose in every direction, both parties being equally culpable. The Ambassador now notified to Gayer, that on the 28th of December 1700, he should publicly read his diplomatic commission, and requested him, as an English subject, to attend and hear it. Upon which Gayer refused to acknowledge either him or his authority, and

forthwith despatched an agent to court, to counteract the Ambassador's views.

Waite, incensed at this contumacy, made a formal complaint to the Native Governor, and demanded the imprisonment of all concerned in this insult to the Ambassador, but his request being unheeded, Sir W. Norris caused Wyche and Garrett, two Members of Council, to be arrested and delivered to the Governor, who detained them until they found security for their appearance when required. Nothing could have delighted the Mogul officers more than this quarrel, as it afforded them ample means for exacting bribes from both Companies, and native cupidity was not satisfied until it had pretty well fleeced them. but "as the New Company found the Old burdened with debts, they gained a victory in this contest of bribes, and induced the Governor to strike a blow, which, it was hoped, would be fatal to the old factory. This was no less than the seizure in February 1701, of Sir John and Lady Gayr, several factors, their wives, children, soldiers and servants—in all one hundred and nine persons, who were kept in confinement for upwards of three years."

The Ambassador who had left Surat to visit the Emperor on the 27th of the previous month, disclaimed all knowledge of, or participation in, this outrage, and when he demanded by whose authority it was perpetrated, Waite stepped boldly forward and declared himself responsible, stating, that he considered the interests of his employers fully justified him. Under these circumstances, Sir W. Norris was compelled to let things remain as they were for the present, for any endeavour to afford redress would implicate the New Company in the opinions of the natives, without any resulting benefit, and he therefore trusted that an early opportunity would afford itself for negotiating for their release.

After a tedious journey, the Ambassador reached Panala on the 7th of April, and solicited an audience which was granted, and, to give due effect to his position, and render more secure the objects sought, a splendid procession was marshalled, and lavish presents made to the Emperor, who, in return, granted such firmans as were demanded, but subject to this condition, that security should be given for the protection of his subjects from both European and Native pirates. To this Norris reasonably objected, on the ground that it would be impossible for him to control the rovers on the Malabar Coast and Mogul dominions, but offered in lieu a lakh of Rupees, which offer was met by the following reply: "the English best knew the value, if it was their interest to trade, and if the

"Ambassador refused to give an obligation, he knew the same "way back to England that he came." Farther attempts at negotiation were considered hopeless, and Norris demanded his passports. These were sent him on the 5th of November, and he commenced his return.

Three days afterwards he was overtaken by an officer, who declared his papers were incorrect, and that he must return. To this he refused, but agreed to halt for a couple of days, at the expiration of which he again set out, and on the 14th reached Birmapuri, the residence of his old enemy Gazedi Khan, whom he refused to visit. On the twenty-second day he resumed his journey, but had scarcely advanced four miles, when he was surrounded by troops, and his tents and baggage seized. Upon which he was forced to return to Birmapuri, when he protested against this outrage, but was simply informed that it was by order, and that he must wait. At length on the 5th of February, he was informed by the Khan, that the Emperor had sent a letter and sword for the King of England, and that a firman would shortly follow. On the 5th of April, Norris was allowed to depart, and reached Surat on the 12th, having been occupied six months and seven days in travelling four hundred miles, a distance which even in those days usually occupied only a month.

This embassy from which such great results were expected was, says our author, "ill conceived, worse planned, and still worse executed. Sir W. Norris, although deficient in the coolness, astuteness and decision, which were necessary to render 'diplomacy successful, yet, the failure of his embassy must not be laid altogether at his door. His position was one of extraordinary difficulty, the London Company left no stone unturned to disgrace him, the advice he received from the "Presidents of the English Company in Bengal, Fort St. George and Surat, could only confuse and perplex him when "he went to Masulipatam. Waite was jealous of Counsellor "Pitt who was there, and found it was necessary for Norris to "go to Surat, and Pitt on the other hand maintained he should "not go to Surat, as it would be derogatory to an Ambassador "to be flitting from port to port, instead of proceeding at once "to court. Then when his expenses increased and he wanted "money, Waite referred him to Pitt, and Pitt to Sir Edward "Littleton in Bengal. He consulted these troublesome presidents "as to the sort of firman he should procure, and each made a "different proposition. When he had broken off engagements "with the Mogul, all complained of him, but each had a reason "different from the others. Waite and his Council said, he had "no right to do so without their consent. From Masulipatam

"they plainly wrote and told him that he had been a rash, imprudent and an absurd stickler for forms. At Hughly, they charged him with being dilatory. In fact, he had bitter enemies, false friends, and divided counsellors, it was therefore no marvel that he fell a victim to a combination of adverse circumstances, to which many a wiser and more resolute man than he was would have succumbed." Worn out and disgusted, he left Surat on the 18th of April 1702, and reached the Mauritius on the 11th of July, where the ship remained until the 7th of September, and after being a few days at sea, he was attacked with dysentery, which terminated fatally. Feeling that his end was approaching, "he dictated to Harlwyn the treasurer of the embassy, a vindication of his conduct, and pathetically expressed a hope, that notwithstanding his misfortunes, his memory would be respected, and concluded by commending all persons who had been engaged in the embassy to the Court's favor and protection." This done, he made use of the few remaining hours to prepare himself for "another and a better world."

Existing contention seemed rather to be aggravated than allayed by the departure of Norris, the evil results of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate. But fortunately in 1700, the English Company, foreseeing the mischief arising from continuous competition, made a proposition for uniting the two associations. Their adversaries, viewing this as a sign of weakness, contemptuously rejected the idea, but protracted suspense and continuous misfortunes at length induced them to view the scheme for amalgamation more favorably, and on the 27th of April 1702, a draft-agreement was adopted, although it took some time to reconcile previous animosities and conflicting interests. "The work of reconciliation was now undertaken in earnest, and from this time we may date the commencement of a career, which, after a necessary period of existence, led the East India Company to wealth and power." Upon entering into the required negotiations, much difficulty was found in settling the pecuniary affairs of the two Companies. For the London were burdened with a debt of one hundred and forty lakhs of Rupees, and other securities at their different factories, while their home debts were proportionate. In this dilemma, Lord Godolphin was referred to, and he effected an arrangement satisfactory to both.

In the appointment of officers subject to after arrangements, Sir John Gayer was nominated General and Governor of Bombay, Mr. Burniston, Deputy-Governor, and Sir Nicholas Waite, President of Surat. Other servants were to be nominated

according to rank, and such as were dismissed had the option of returning to England. Matters being thus arranged, all seemed settled with the appearance of working amicably, but Waite's intemperance and intriguing spirit disturbed every good intention, nor was it until his services were "discontinued," to use a mild term for his dismissal, that the two Companies felt the beneficial results arising from the wisdom of their union. Lord Godolphin, who rigidly weighed and investigated the position of the two bodies, delivered his award on the 29th of September 1708. The award which first declared the title of the New Corporation as the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, decreed that there were to be three Presidencies in India. That a new Governor with the title of General, and a Council, were to be appointed for Bombay, the Council being elected from the Civil Servants, but the number was to be left open for convenience, and to these joint authorities all matters were to be submitted. Ajslabie was appointed General, Proby second in Council, Rendall third, Goodshaw fourth, Wyche fifth, Mildmay sixth, Boone seventh, and Oakley eighth. They were to delegate four of their number to act as President and Council of Surat, and to nominate as many factors and writers as they required.

We might here fairly terminate our review in the words of the author: "The union of the two Companies is an epoch which properly closes the early history of the British in India. From this time the United Company commenced a new and wonderful career, past struggles had left it in a state of exhaustion, its advance was at first feeble and tardy. But it never receded a step, never even halted. Movement imparted fresh health, and it acquired strength by progress, whilst yet an infant of days, it walked timidly, but with increasing size, assumed a bolder front, and at last, in a gigantic form, strode fearlessly across the whole continent of India." But there yet remains a short, but able summary, meriting attention, the particular characteristics of which are candour and conciseness, and as the author has well digested his subject, and is fully qualified to express an opinion, we cannot pass over this portion of his work.

With regard to the East India Company and the obscurity which envelopes its early proceedings, he remarks, "It is a singular fact, that as yet no written history has ventured to express an impartial opinion respecting their affairs. Bruce is the only author who has composed a connected narrative, but he wrote for the Company. Hence throughout his three quarto volumes, but one or at most two adverse criticisms are to be met with. The results proved antagonistical to the

"intention, facts oozed out which rendered the partial statements of foreigners more readily credited, while the enemies of the Company attacked them violently with misrepresentations, and supplied with imagination those facts which the Company unwisely withheld."

The early Court of Directors were certainly neither better nor much worse than the age in which they lived. Corruption was flagrant from the throne downwards, so that when we estimate their proceedings, we must compare them with the prevailing customs, and not select this body as meriting an inordinate share of public indignation. "The Company never laid claim to any of the higher order of virtues. They professed to be honest and enterprising, but their aims were limited by their own interests. But there are, it is true, periods in their early history, when their conduct was almost magnanimous. The Court of Directors lived and laboured for themselves, but they resisted so stoutly the open assaults of doughty adversaries, countermined the concealed approaches of secret foes, rallied their fainting troops and from their own unfailing fires rekindled the extinguished energies of their servants. Such an indomitable spirit claims our admiration, for the vulgar instinct of self-preservation appears then in an imposing dress of heroic glory."

The contrast between past and present Government is thus pourtrayed, and deserves attention from all connected with, or interested in India. It cannot fail to make a strong impression upon our Indian brethren, in allusion to whom it is remarked: "It would be well if discontented natives could be brought to compare their position under British rule, with that of the English under Native. There is now at least security for life and property, the tax which the subject pays for the support of the Government is small, when we consider that really it is the rent of his land. He has the most absolute control over his own movements. He may travel North, South, East or West, and be safe from injury and insult. If his journey be on land, the tribes, such as Bhils and Kalis, which formerly would have plundered him, are now the police which protect him; if his course be over sea, he no longer fears, lest behind each headland, there should lurk some ferocious rover, and that to double it would be his death or ruin. His religion is tolerated and his person respected, the oppression of petty tyrants is restrained by equitable laws, and he meets with consideration and politeness from that dominant people, whom he still regards as outcasts and unfit to share his social enjoyments."

Compare this with the position of the English under Native authority. "There was no power to protect the merchant either by land or sea; if he wished to convey his goods from Surat to Agra, he could only hope to defend them from plunder by mustering a strong party, and setting regular guards at each camping place, as though he were in an enemy's country. Still more dangerous were the paths of the ocean. There he had to depend entirely upon his own resources, for it would have been vain to seek protection from law. Nay, the proud Emperor appealed to the despised strangers that his shipping might be protected, and they were expected, not only to defend themselves, but also the mariners and traders of a vast empire, yet he and his subjects, helpless haughty barbarians, affected to despise the English, wronged them incessantly, imprisoned their chiefs, insulted their envoys, fleeced their merchants, and drove them to turn upon their oppressors in despair. Thus the evils of native rule compelled English merchants to protect their warehouses with battlements, and all the muniments of war.

"Short as this history is, it yet seems a labyrinth of human follies and errors. Religion, however, which is the only solid basis of all knowledge, enables us to trace through it all a mysterious clue of Divine Providence and protection. European vices and Native vices bear an overwhelming proportion on the record, and the catalogue is relieved by a few items of virtue. But as two negatives make an affirmative, so the vices of Europeans and Natives have produced a positive good. The thirst for riches, the unscrupulous efforts of ambition, the reckless violence which often struck Hindoos with terror—all these were the disgrace of the English, but they hurried them on to empire. The perfidy, the cunning which over-reached itself, the cowardice, the exclusive bigotry which disgraced the natives, smoothed the way to their subjection, and surely these results are being directed by the Universal Benefactor to good. We know of no other way in which India could have been regenerated. Had the English in India been a set of peaceful saintly emigrants, what impression would they have made on the country? Had the natives placed confidence in each other, and been united under a common faith, how could they have given way to the encroachments of a few foreigners?

"But although Providence has thus brought good out of evil, we have certain indications that for the future, they who sow vices will not reap a harvest of blessings. Moreover, all history teaches one certain truth, which is this, that between conquering and conquered people, there must be mutual for-



